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Plotting a New Depression

THE GRAND STRATEGY of the ruling economic forces of the United States in the postwar period is now becoming fairly clear. It is a strategy of various parts which are, however, consistent with one another. They add up into a policy that, if carried out, would inevitably bring a new and disastrous depression in the United States.

The first part of this policy is one which goes back several years in our history and its central feature is the action taken to make sure that the chief industrial organizations of the country should emerge from the war with great strength. During the critical years of 1940 and 1941, when America was tardily preparing the military strength with which to meet the challenge of the fascist countries, a large proportion of the chief business firms with whom government contracts were made went on what can only be described as a sitdown strike against preparedness. They refused to begin production in new plants built for military purposes until they were allowed the right to amortize these plants in an abnormally short length of time—in most cases, five years. Subsequently, they obtained enactment of legislation which virtually guarantees them against loss because of the sudden cancellation of war contracts and in the reconversion period. They have brought pressure to bear on Congress which will result in the removal of excess-profits taxes on January 1, 1946. As a consequence of these three actions, American business as a whole enters the postwar period enormously strong and with the prospect that its strength will be increased.

The second important point has to do with prices. We have the testimony of the one man in the country who is in the best position to know, Chester Bowles, head of the Office of Price Administration, that business generally is seeking substantial price increases of an inflationary character, increases which have no relation in fact to the possibility of increased wages. In an address delivered in New York City on December 5, Mr. Bowles recorded the facts. He called names with a frankness extraordinary in a government official and testifying eloquently to the serious view he takes of the situation. The National Association of Manufacturers, said Mr. Bowles, has asked the lifting of all price controls by February 15 next. This is many months before the production of consumer goods can begin to meet the backlog of demand from the war period, and can therefore only be preliminary to a raising of prices all down the line. The National Retail Dry Goods Association, said Mr. Bowles, "has fought every measure to make price control effective." The National Association of Real Estate Boards has consistently opposed rent control, although everyone knows that runaway rents not only create drastic immediate hardships but are a fertile factor in runaway inflation. Mr. Bowles went on:

> Let's make no mistake about it. Unless we can win the fight against what might properly be called this "pressure-group urge to inflation"—and we have to win it in the next few weeks, in the next few months—we shall condemn America—all America, consumers, agriculture, labor and business—to a brief period of false boom followed by a shattering smashup that will shake our economy to its foundations.

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Twenty-four hours later Bowles told the members of the NAM to their faces, at their annual conference, that amendments to the price-control act which they have sought "would in my opinion have made effective price control absolutely impossible," adding $30 billion to the cost of fighting the war and $38 billion to the cost of living for the American consumer.

The third point in the industrialists' policy has to do with labor. It should now be perfectly clear to everybody that many important industrialists are out to break unions, destroy effective collective bargaining and reduce wages at least to the prewar level, and below it if they can. They may not be able to obtain actual repeal of the Wagner Act requiring collective bargaining, but they hope to nullify it by long delay which will enable them to starve out employees if they go on strike. In their general attitude they have gone back to the 1920's—or rather, they now feel powerful enough to reassert those policies, which in fact they never abandoned. They reject, as a General Motors spokesman so contemptuously did a few days ago, the theory that permanent high prosperity can only be preserved if consumer purchasing power is kept as large as possible. They propose instead to drive wages down as far as they can and raise profits to the highest level, keeping that level secret, as General Motors boasts that it does, not only from the workers and government representatives, but even from their own stockholders.

It is in the light of these facts that President Truman's proposals for fact-finding bodies and for a compulsory cooling-off period before strikes, should be read. At first glance such proposals may seem fair, reasonable and in the interest of all parties. If the employers really wanted a just and generous settlement, if they had accepted the principle of collective bargaining as British employers have done, such a plan might work. But labor notes that even as the President brought forward these suggestions, he demanded that the General Motors strikers go back to work, a proposal in the interest of management and designed to prejudice the strikers' case in the eyes of the public. They know that a cooling-off period would mean one in which the employers could assemble strikebreakers and with their powerful influence over most of the press and radio, could win the first round in the battle for public opinion. The workers know that the present conservative Congress is most unlikely to pass any law giving a fact-finding body power to open the employers' books and that if by a miracle such a law were passed, the courts would almost certainly declare it unconstitutional. Finally, they know that we shall never have industrial peace until all parties involved really want industrial peace; and that, in the meantime, the strike is labor's only effective weapon. For forty years, this country has been trying intermittently to put an end to industrial strife by legislative coercion; it is absurd to suppose that it can now be done by another hasty and haphazard law cooked up by forces hostile to labor, in the midst of a period of grave industrial unrest.

What does this all add up to? The answer can be told in one word: Depression. The dominant industrial and financial forces of the country have demonstrated in the past few weeks their complete economic illiteracy. The lesson of the great depression which began in 1929 has been lost on them; they still don't understand what caused that depression; they are doing their best to reproduce the conditions which brought it about. They want low wages, low taxes and high profits for industry—profits which will far exceed the need for new capital expenditure in productive enterprise in the sort of society they are seeking to create. In their interest as well as that of the country as a whole, their efforts to commit economic suicide must be stopped.

New Machinery for Peace

THE WORLD TODAY faces a profound dilemma. At the end of an exhausting war in which three of the chief fascist countries were vanquished in a military sense, a fresh attempt is being made to create an association of nations which can keep the peace. But even before that association is born, and many months or perhaps years before its machinery can be fully mobilized for the task, a new and terrifying weapon has been created—the atom bomb.

As everyone now knows, the "secret" of the bomb is no secret. In the near future, at least a dozen countries will be in a position to manufacture such bombs and to destroy other countries on which they choose to make a surprise attack. The danger is grave enough when such a weapon is in the hands of even a nation like the United States; it becomes enormously worse in the hands of one of the surviving fascist countries dedicated to totalitarian principles, like Spain or Argentina. We need a new basis for international control of countries which may not have committed an overt act of aggression yet are obviously a potential threat to peace. The charter of UNO, written at San Francisco before the news of the atomic bomb had heightened the urgency of the world situation, is not adequate in itself to deal with this problem. We need an additional philosophy and additional actions based on that philosophy. This philosophy will obviously require of the nations in the UNO a greater genuine devotion to democratic principles than even the best of them possess at this moment, and far more than the worst of them. Our tragedy lies in the fact that our time is so short.

An attempt has now been made to suggest the new philosophical basis on which the nations of the world can interfere in the internal situation of a country which is a potential threat to peace even though it has as yet

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done nothing which would justify invoking United Nations action on the old, already largely obsolete, principles expounded at San Francisco. The Uruguayan Foreign Minister, Dr. Alberto Rodriguez Larreta, has proposed that the doctrine of non-intervention be re-examined and harmonized with the present realities, to which it does not always conform. Dr. Rodriguez's suggestion was endorsed so promptly by Secretary of State Byrnes that it became obvious his thinking paralleled that in Washington, if it was not, indeed, inspired there. His proposal, in substance, is that a country which conspicuously flouts democratic principles internally, which denies its citizens liberty of opinion and political action, is not living up to present world principles, and therefore should not be entitled to acceptance, legally and morally, as a member of the world community. Dr. Rodriguez proposes, not immediate action under this principle, but a reëxamination of international law to see how and to what extent it should be modified for this purpose.

It is necessary to distinguish sharply between this new idea and the past policies of the democratic countries, none of which actually approaches the ideal of democracy in fact. What we have done heretofore in the name of international principles such as non-intervention, neutrality and legitimism, is a sorry record. Non-intervention is the banner under which we share the blame, along with Great Britain and France, for cowardly inaction during the Spanish civil war and continued acceptance of fascism in Spain. Congress even took special measures beyond the scope of the Neutrality Act to prohibit arms exports to the democratic defenders of Spain who vainly tried to defeat the Axis dress rehearsal for war.

The blind-side brand of non-intervention, not to be confused with its valuable application in the Western Hemisphere, is the corollary of neutrality. The Neutrality Act of 1793, legalizing our hands-off policy, was expedient protection for our shipping and foreign trade when we were a powerless nation, and at a time when it took many weeks to get so much as a message from one continent to another. Violations of neutrality were our reason for entering the First World War. In what Henry Stimson called in 1937, after Roosevelt's "quarantine" speech, "the wave of ostrich-like isolationism which has swept over us," neutrality was to be our excuse for staying out of World War II.

Further review of our follies in the thirties is appropriate. Because the nation was "non-interventionist," we did not arm our merchant ships, but sent scrap iron and oil to Japan, while holding the Burma Road open to China. We explained our policy by a hair-splitting technicality: it was an "undeclared" war in the Far East; consequently we could politely pretend that it was no war at all.

The Western Hemisphere, it is true, has seen the brighter side of non-intervention. After the Monroe Doctrine was declared in 1823, our moral support of Latin America's efforts to shake off her European masters—in line with the Jeffersonian policy of *de-facto* recognition of revolutionary governments—was salutary. But with the ascendency of the apostles of American imperialism, Theodore Roosevelt, Admiral Mahan, Josiah Strong and others, suspicion of the Big Neighbor began to grow. Under the flag of "manifest destiny" after the Spanish-American War we inspired the Panamanian revolt against Colombia, meddled militarily in Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Haiti and Mexico, and intervened in a number of countries as debt-collecting bookkeepers. Even Woodrow Wilson endorsed the worn-out principle of legitimism, lest carefully purchased Latin American governments be overthrown. Our popularity in Latin America was soon below the British par in India.

Just in time, Roosevelt and Sumner Welles moved in with a change of policy. Their first objective was to build some semblance of trust south of the border and Latin American confidence in the despised "Colossus of the North." The doctrine of non-intervention, gradually implemented at various Pan-American meetings, paid off. Last year's Act of Chapultepec condemned "intervention by a state in the internal and external affairs of another." Earlier, at the Buenos Aires conference of 1936, it had been agreed that "every war or threat of war affects directly or indirectly all civilized peoples." Mutual consultation was provided for if the menace of war did exist. In other words, unilateral action was to be replaced by multi-lateral action of the coöperative kind Secretary Stimson had often advocated in world affairs.

It is quite obvious that if at this moment the new Uruguayan doctrine were to be applied either by the United Nations Organization or some smaller segment of it such as the Security Council, dominated by the Big Three, and if these nations continue to act as they have done in the past, there would be very little hope of real and effective action for peace. The British coalition government refused to join in sanctions against Argentina, proposed by the United States, on the painfully realistic grounds that the British wanted food from the Argentine and a market for their exports. The British Labor government is shooting the people of Java whose only crime is a desire for freedom, and is doing so in the name of international peace and order, with no effective dissent from the United States or Russia. The form of the Russian government is such that the Uruguayan proposal, strictly applied, might easily put Russia among the objects of international discipline rather than the group of disciplinary powers. It is recognition of these problems that has brought the suggestion that the Uruguayan principle might first be applied only in the Western Hemisphere.

To say, however, that the democracies do not come into court with clean hands is not to say that the court

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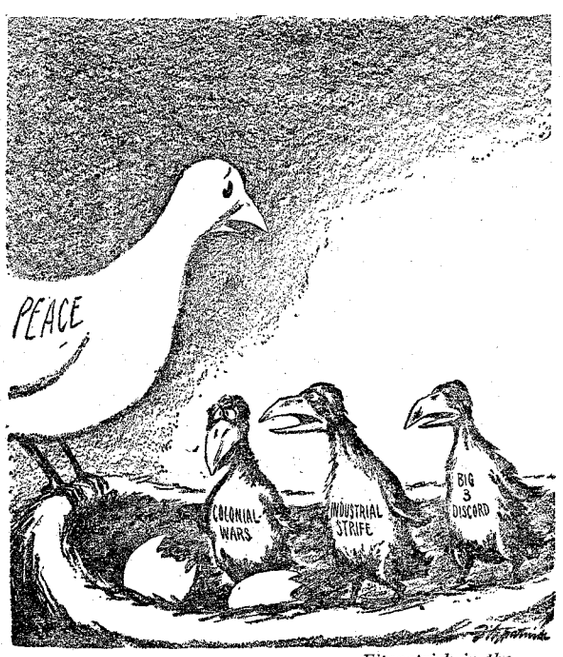
should not exist. On the contrary, it is to emphasize the necessity that these democracies shall clean their hands, as completely as possible and with the utmost possible speed. If we looked only at the facts of the past, we would necessarily adopt a defeatism regarding the future which would make the destruction of civilization in another world war inevitable. However great the difficulties, however idealistic and starry-eyed the suggestion may seem, it is literally a life-and-death matter that we should try, beginning now, to create a world order in which it will become the business of a truly democratic association of powers to forbid the continuance of governments like those of Peron in Argentina or Franco in Spain. The fact that the time is short does not mean that a beginning should not be made, when the alternative is death. The Uruguayan proposal must have the widest and most earnest consideration; and those who do the considering must realize that a time bomb is ticking in the room.

Poll-Tax Third Round

THE POLL TAX is up again, as it must continue to come up as long as it exists and we own a political conscience. We mean the poll tax that is used as a tax on voting in Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas and has held the people of these states under minority rule for the past half-century.

Proposed federal legislation to remove this disability from citizens desiring to cast votes in national elections, has passed the House three years hand-running by overwhelming majorities. Action is being sought in the Senate before the year's-end recess. This year, as in 1943 and 1944, passage of the bill (HR 7) is recommended by the Judiciary Committee.



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Strange Hatching

In other years, the measure has failed of passage by the margin of the Senate's unwillingness to overthrow a filibuster. This year a filibuster again looms, with Senator Bilbo of Mississippi dusting off his trusty telephone books, mail-order catalogues and other references from which he can harangue his colleagues as long as his effrontery and their docility endure.

This year the poll tax is spotlighted not only as a barrier to our social progress at home, but as the bar sinister on the escutcheon we show to the rest of the world. President Truman's foreign-policy address on Navy Day in which he went over "our responsibilities within the framework of our fundamental principles" was resplendent with declarations of our belief in the return of "sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples," through the establishment of governments in accordance with the "freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

In view of the fact that the people of seven states of our own Union have no way freely to express their political choices, and therefore no access to "peaceful democratic government," all of the above falls a little flat. As important as it unquestionably is that Bulgarians and Rumanians have a free vote, it is not less important, surely, that Virginians and Tennesseans have as much.

But Congress mocks and dawdles. Its hands are tied by its committees and its committees are hog-tied by poll-tax members who do not have to give a hang about the people of the United States, but only about the miniscule electorates in their own estates that have survived the tax on voting and are only the fractional remainder of once-sovereign peoples. Six poll-taxers make an indigestible lump in the stomach of the House Ways and Means Committee. Five poll-taxers plus backward-gazing Cochran of Missouri and Erwin of North Carolina out of 13 Democrats, and Clare Hoffman of Michigan, Judd of Minnesota and Rich of Pennsylvania among the Republican members, make up the Unholy Alliance in the House Committee on Expenditures of the Executive, whose chairman, poll-taxer Carter Manasco of Alabama, scoffs openly at the executive's plea for legislation to bridge the nation's road over the postwar perils of inflation and depression.

Enactment of HR 7 would honor the constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government to the people of all the states of the United States. A majority of the members of the Senate have given their word to support the bill. Obstacles to its passage are the filibuster, which should be checked by continuous sessions or broken by cloture, and a resolution by Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney that would wrap up the whole issue as a question of constitutional amendment.

Whatever the Senator's personal sincerity in this proposal, its effect, if accepted, would be (beyond fur-

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nishing a bowl in which the Senate could wash its own hands) nil in the foreseeable future. Thirteen states could block the amendment, and it is logical to suppose that many state legislatures would be inclined simply to pass back to Congress the buck Congress itself would have attempted to pass. In the poll-tax states, the legislatures can make only the most tenuous claim to speak the popular will, and this fact accentuates the absurdity of the amendment proposal. The very people most affected by the proposal—the millions disfranchised by the poll tax—would have no leverage upon it, one way or the other.

Our nation cannot hope to exert a real moral leadership in the world until it can beckon with clean hands. The framework of our fundamental principles is the framework of a republic; the basic principle of a republic is the right to vote. While the right to vote of ten million of our own citizens is abridged by a tax device, we can cut but the sorry figure of a busybody in instructing others toward democracy and in insisting that no other nation which restricts the suffrage shall be recognized as worthy of a place in decent society.

The Moscow Conference

The hopes of the world are hanging, to a terrifying extent, on the meeting of the Big Three Foreign Ministers in Moscow on December 15. It is obvious that Messrs. Byrnes, Bevin and Molotov cannot solve problems on which their countries are in fundamental disagreement; but the breakdown of relations between the Russians and the Anglo-American bloc has lately been so complete and so ominous that any bridging of the gap is to be welcomed. The official announcement states that the subject of atomic energy is to be discussed; let us hope that out of the discussion may grow a modification of present American policy, which is pushing the world into an atomic-bomb armament race. German administration, Eastern Europe, Iran, the control of Japan, and Korea, are other questions of the greatest urgency. On most of them it is the United States which at this moment is departing most seriously from United Nations principles. In his article in this issue, Thomas F. Reynolds shows clearly why UNO is not authorized or prepared to deal now with most of these issues; President Truman, with what was probably the worst blunder of his career, has ruled out any further meeting of the Big Three. It is now the Foreign Ministers or nothing, with the future hanging on their ability to stand together and work toward coöperation and peace.

Anglo-American Settlement

The final terms of the agreement with Great Britain do not differ in any important respect from the predictions. Great Britain gets a "line of credit" with the United States, to be used for the purchase of goods here, amounting to $3.75 billion; interest is at a nominal rate of two percent and amortization over 50 years, after a five-year moratorium; the obligation will exist at any given time only in regard to that part of the credit already used, and payments are suspended in any year in which Great Britain can be shown to have an adverse balance of trade affecting her dollar position. In addition, surplus war property and lend-lease materials not already used up in the war, to the value of two or three billion, will be bought by the British out of another loan, for about $700 million; these goods are practically worthless to the United States if we tried to bring them back home and find some use for them. Lend-lease items already expended, to the value in the case of the United Kingdom of about $20 billion, will be canceled as America's contribution to the war, as of course they should be.

All this looks to the past; a hundred times more important is the future. Both countries could easily cut themselves off from many billions of dollars of annual national income by squabbling over a few billions of real or supposed liabilities left over from the war. The agreement provides, in principle, for the lowering of restrictions against international trade, and further expansion should develop from the international economic conference planned for next summer. We hope that the bitter lesson that restriction means poverty has at last been learned on both sides of the water; and that both Congress and Parliament will ratify the agreement without delay. If this is done, Parliament will also, no doubt, accept the Bretton Woods Plan, which is an integral part of the whole picture and for which the deadline is growing perilously near.

UNRRA—Another Step Forward

The house of Representatives is to be congratulated on authorizing the additional $1.35 billion, the United States share for 1946, to UNRRA, minus the so-called "freedom-of-the-press" amendment by which a group of Republicans tried to sabotage the program. Only 39 House members voted to forbid the use of our funds in any country which prevented the free functioning of American correspondents after Representative Herter (R., Mass.) publicly reversed his position on the question. He substituted, instead, a simple recommendation to the President requesting him to do everything possible to clear the way for qualified American reporters to report, without censorship, what is going on in countries receiving aid from UNRRA.

The way is now clear for Senate action on our 1946 contribution to UNRRA. It is imperative that it approve the $1.35-billion authorization before the Christmas recess so that no time shall be lost in the fight to prevent starvation and suffering in Europe this winter.

Hurley's Hullabaloo

General Hurley's exhibition of anger before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigating his charges against a number of State Department em-

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ployees has boomeranged against the former Ambassador to China. Hurley was not only unable to furnish proof of his charges that foreign-service officers had sabotaged American policy in China by supporting the so-called Communists, but his testimony was discredited by Mr. Byrnes, who came to the defense of these career men. As to Mr. Byrnes's restatement of our China policy in this connection, one may disagree with him that the government of Chiang Kai-shek "affords the most satisfactory base for a developing democracy," but he made it unmistakably clear that this country will not be satisfied with any government that does not include all political parties and groups of the Chinese people. This has also been the declared policy of the Chinese Communists. In spite of their efforts to come to an understanding with Chiang Kai-shek, there is good reason to believe that the latter has been the stumbling-block, chiefly because his maneuvers apparently had the silent approval of General Hurley. After Mr. Byrnes's clear-cut statement, perhaps Chiang will realize that General Hurley's interpretation of our China policy was that of one man only and not necessarily that of the American people.

The Housing Emergency

A few days ago President Truman told his press conference that he still had no emergency housing program to announce. Meanwhile, throughout the country, the shortage of moderate-priced shelter is growing steadily more acute.

It seems clear that the President does intend to establish a priority system on scarce building materials, to channel them into low-cost homes for veterans and to maintain strict price control on existing houses to prevent speculative buying for resale. What the President did not tell the press was that he is delaying any drastic action until Congress renews the Second War Powers Act, as he has requested.

Meanwhile Representative Wright Patman is pushing a bill which would control real-estate prices. The real-estate lobby is fighting his measure with all its might. Price Administrator Bowles is one of the few Administration officials to come out for the Patman measure. If the President is sincere about wanting housing needs to take precedence over profit, he should put all his influence behind passage of the Patman bill to help relieve the immediate crisis. At the same time, of course, pressure to extend the War Powers Act and to pass the long-range Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill should be redoubled.

A Platform for Republicans

The badly split Democratic Party can take a wry pleasure in the spectacle of confusion that the Republican National Committee presented at its recent business meeting in Chicago. Republican Senate and House leaders had been promising for months that they would unveil at Chicago a basic Republican platform for the '46 elections. They spent days in preparatory sessions working on various drafts of the statement. Supposedly reliable Republican leaks to the press indicated that this would mark a big step forward.

The platform the congressional leaders finally offered was a feeble, evasive effort. And such die-hards as Governor Dwight Green and Werner Schroeder of Illinois took out their hatchets against even that as a substitute for old-time GOP reaction. The result was a compromise—"endorsement" by the National Committee of the House-Senate platform, which was actually a backhanded slap at it, and the establishment of a seven-man policy committee of organization men to "develop and augment" policies in line with the "ideas, thoughts and aspirations" of all Republican Party members. In other words, the sessions clearly indicated that the National Committee wanted a platform which would put the GOP more firmly on record on "the conservative v. radical" issue. The same men who rejected Willkie are still rejecting any modification of their outworn ideas. And the same men, apparently, still control the Republican Party.

Aid to Europe's Anti-Fascists

The first winter of peace may bring death to hundreds of thousands of Europe's anti-fascists unless warm clothes and food are sent to them at once. These are the men and women who managed to survive partisan warfare, concentration-camp torture and dangerous work behind the lines of Hitler's Reich. These ragged, crippled and emaciated veterans of the anti-fascist struggle are the beneficiaries of the International Rescue and Relief Committee, which knows their names and has worked closely with them since 1933. During the past six months, in addition to food, medicine and money, the IRRC has sent 18 tons of clothing to these political refugees. Its goal for the next six months is 25 tons. The IRRC deserves the support of all Americans who supported the war against fascism. Its address is 103 Park Avenue, New York 17.

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Has Truman Lost the Left?

by Helen Fuller

DECEMBER 3, 1945, may be an important date in Democratic Party history. On that day, President Truman called for industrial-relations legislation which organized labor solidly opposes, legislation setting the whole of labor against the Democratic Administration for the first time in more than twelve years. Unless this breach is healed, chances of Democratic victory in 1946 and 1948 will be dim. Drastic party realignment might even result.

Professional politicians attribute Franklin D. Roosevelt's long tenure to his ability to keep the big New Deal team of horses pulling in harness. He knew when to slacken or tighten the reins on the Southern Democrats, the Northern city boses, labor, the Negroes and the other minorities which together elected the New Deal. Truman's falling out with labor unfortunately comes at a time when his relations are also strained with Negro and Jewish groups over his handling of the FEPC and the Palestine question. Apparently Harry Truman is not a skilled enough driver to handle this tricky New Deal combination as Roosevelt did. If labor pulls out of harness, Truman may soon be left driving a losing team.

Most of labor was never very enthusiastic about Truman. Railway Brotherhood men were among the Truman-before-Chicago supporters, but the CIO fought hard to nominate Wallace and only swallowed Truman with a brave face as part of the price of a Roosevelt ticket. From the first days after Truman succeeded to the White House, he gave labor leaders the feeling that they were permanently scheduled to be "second-table" guests. Philip Murray and William Green were accustomed to being invited in to advise and consult with the President at regular intervals, and when Truman showed no signs of following this custom, the labor leaders decided to keep their pride and their distance until Truman made the first move.

One result was that appointments and bills came in for labor criticism after the fact rather than before public announcement. And the President was not kept up to date on what working men and women were facing and wanting. Truman said all the right things on questions affecting labor, but at the same time seemed to grow more and more adept at evading action. The reconversion crisis was well along when Mr. Truman became President. The crisis in wages had jelled by late May, but it was not until September that the President got around to doing something to loosen up the wage jam. By then, the CIO had already decided that widespread strikes would have to be called to get results. And industry had determined to stall on the collective-bargaining deals into which it was forced.

The call to labor and management to sit down together and work out machinery for settling industrial disputes looked all right on the record, particularly to middle-class citizens who were unaware of the tensions embedded in industrial relationships. Truman had no wise advisers to insist that he make government a full partner in the Labor-Management Conference he decided to call, that government's responsibility for industrial reconversion be made clear from the beginning. And labor was not close enough to the presidential ear to voice its frank fears, about which most of the rest of Washington heard.

The fact was that the wage fight was too far advanced to be settled by any such mild approach as Truman was proposing in his Labor-Management Conference. And the principal parties knew it very well. Because the general public did not know it, neither side was willing to incur ill will by saying this out loud. So the conference went on.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the NAM, the AFL and John L. Lewis agreed with the government that the wage question should not be on the agenda, because it would only cause "friction." The CIO violently disagreed. Realities and results now seem to bear out Philip Murray's position. Wage earners had suffered direct pay cuts of from 23 to 50 percent of what they earned during the war years, through loss of working time and downgrading to inferior jobs. The Office of Reconversion was advising the nation to expect eight million unemployed by the spring of 1946, and government figures showed that wage earners since V-J Day had lost $25 billion, on an annual basis, through wage cuts and unemployment. The biggest companies and the biggest unions were locked in wage struggles when the government summoned them to sit down together and discuss everything except the cause of their conflict.

The United Auto Workers (CIO) had presented its demands for increased wages to General Motors weeks before the conference. The company had stalled for weeks before beginning negotiations. A strike vote had been taken, and GM had announced its refusal of the union's demands. U. S. Steel took only forty minutes to reject the United Steelworkers' demand for a wage increase. It made no counter-offers of any kind, and has refused to enter into collective bargaining on the question. Twice in one week U. S. Steel refused a government request to mediate the dispute, to bargain with the union. One afternoon in the middle of Tru-

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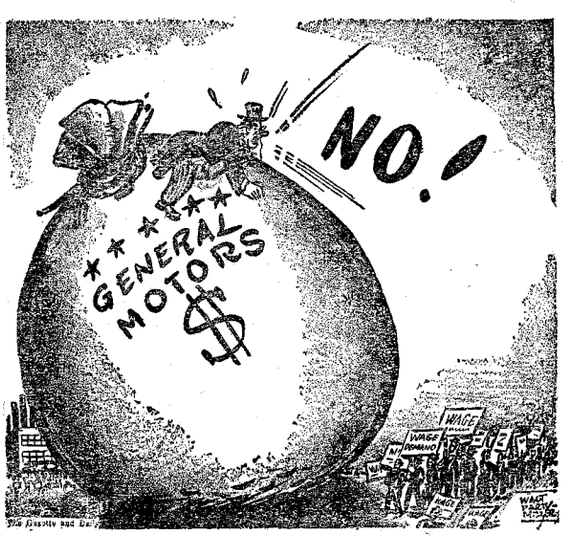
man's Labor-Management Conference, Jack Stevens of U. S. Steel sat in a meeting of the Committee on Collective Bargaining, mouthing fine sentiments, at the very moment that Labor Secretary Schwellenbach was opening a message from U. S. Steel President Fairless refusing to resume collective bargaining, as the government had asked.

Meanwhile industry continued to pile up the same exorbitant profits it had been making during the war. The Office of War Mobilization reported that American industry could raise wages 24 percent and still earn more than twice as much "take-home profits" as it did before the war. Congress, with Administration approval, eliminated excess-profits taxes and gave other tax relief for next year which promises to swell industry profits even more. A company that sells goods this year is taxed a maximum of 85½ percent for each dollar of profit. But beginning next year, that same company will pay a maximum tax of only 38 percent. Industry can keep only 14½ cents of every profit dollar this year, but in 1946 it can keep 62 cents of each dollar.

So industry is not at present producing to the full the much needed consumers' goods, clothes, washing machines, radios and the like, although there are no strikes in these fields. And industry is refusing to bargain with labor for an increased share of the profits coming from its ability to increase production. General Motors refused the UAW offer of voluntary arbitration. Both U. S. Steel and GM have refused to mediate the wage question even though requested to do so by the government.

Labor's answer has been to vote to strike. The auto workers have led the way, but half a million steelworkers have also voted five-to-one for a strike; electrical, aluminum, packinghouse and rubber workers have voted overwhelmingly in favor of strikes unless their demands are met.

Government's answer has been to ask for legislation. On the face of it, President Truman's message to Congress asking for legislation "to provide adequate means for settling industrial disputes" seems sound and constructive. The Railway Labor Act on which it is modeled is highly regarded generally, and the President's proposal does not seem to place undue hardship on either party.



Walt Partymiller in the Gazette and Daily *(York, Pa.)*

But all factions of organized labor were quick to point out to their less-knowing sympathizers that there is more to this proposal than at first appears. William Green said it was "unacceptable to labor and unworkable." John L. Lewis and the railways unions also spoke out against it.

THE NIGHT AFTER Truman's message, CIO President Murray went on the air to explain his organization's position in detail. The Administration, Murray pointed out, has not informed the people of the basic causes of this present industrial crisis. It has done nothing to end the "sitdown strike" of industry, to force it to fulfill its duty and its promise made at the Labor-Management Conference to bargain fairly and coöperate in mediation. The Administration has shown itself impotent to enact unemployment-compensation, full-employment and other progressive legislation to which it has given lip-service. President Truman clearly cannot control the actions of even his own party in Congress. It is within this framework that the proposed legislation must be viewed and its real intent understood.

As to the basic point of Truman's proposal, Murray said "labor has never feared the public disclosure of facts pertaining to a labor dispute. We warmly welcome public attention to the facts which underlie our claims submitted in collective bargaining." Some of Murray's listeners recalled that GM officials, in the midst of Labor-Management Conference proceedings, denied that the facts about corporation profits had any bearing on the auto-wage dispute, and not only refused to open their books to the union but added that they don't even open their books to their stockholders.

Murray was saying, then, that Truman's legislative proposal taken by itself was one thing, in theory not necessarily too bad, but taken in the present industrial framework, quite another. In view of the kind of Congress Truman has and his lack of power over it, his proposal, Murray warns, "can be but the first step for even more savage legislative repression. For this reason the CIO shall mobilize its entire membership and the American people to defeat this specific measure and all similar attempts directed against labor."

Congressional hearings on Truman's proposed bill have already begun. Progressives in the Senate, however, are showing considerable reluctance to rush the measure through. There is a good chance that the bill will not be passed "before the Christmas holiday," as the President requested. Labor's fears that the situation will get out of control are already being justified. The most vicious anti-labor elements in both Houses are mobilizing to load murderous amendments on the bill. Truman does not have the majority to defeat them.

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Philip Murray did not mince words in his denunciation of Truman's basic policies as well as of his specific labor proposals. The political implications of his attack are clear. Truman's actions, Murray said, mark "a very serious departure from the policies which the people of this country have repeatedly approved within recent years under the leadership of President Roosevelt." It is being generally assumed, therefore, that the PAC will pay more attention to policies than to parties in making selections for '46. Whether or not the people who made the New Deal will feel that this "departure" is serious enough to warrant withdrawing their support from President Truman may not become clear for quite a while.

But there is no reason to believe that the CIO has closed the gate on the Truman Administration for all time to come. Mr. Truman can still correct the aspects of his Administration that have alienated labor. There is still time for him to fire his well meaning but utterly inadequate old friend John Snyder and bring in a Reconversion Director who could deal fairly and forcefully with the labor-management problems involved in reaching full peacetime employment. There is still time for the President to call in the industrial leaders who are guilty of "sitdown" tactics and make them live up to their responsibilities under present labor-relations laws.

There is still time—for a leader who understands the importance of today's decisions. It is not clear that Harry Truman does understand.

Pulmotor Needed for UNO

by Thomas F. Reynolds

THERE IS something terrifying about the trend of thinking in the White House these days on the role of the United States in the world community. As if he were overwhelmed by the weight of his country's responsibility for leadership, President Truman seems to be seeking a form of escape by attempting to shift the burden of decision to the world "mass of nations" in the United Nations Assembly.

To any one unfamiliar with the intuitive and esoteric methods of policy-making under Mr. Truman, the developments here almost on the eve of the first meeting at London of the United Nations Assembly must seem incredible. It is almost too much to expect the rest of the world to believe, much less understand, that within twelve hours after the President's dismissal of future Big Three conferences and assignment of all problems to UNO, the State Department was giving private assurances to all that Mr. Truman did not mean what he said. In such circumstances the voice of the United States must sound a very discordant clamor indeed to a world seeking desperately for leadership to chart a way out of the political shambles.

Secretary Byrnes this week put on the record what had been conveyed for several days in private to inquiring diplomats. His argument was that the President, or the correspondents who attended the last White House press conference of November, or somebody, had misunderstood. The Secretary of State then attempted to bring the United Nations Organization back to its proper perspective. In the first place, said Mr. Byrnes, when Mr. Truman discarded the idea of future Big Three meetings he was thinking in terms of personal consultations with Marshal Stalin and Mr. Attlee; he was not thinking in terms of foreclosing future conferences among the Big Three nations. And finally, Byrnes stated what everyone but the White House, apparently, knew was the fact all along: that UNO is limited in its activities by the terms of its San Francisco Charter and there is nothing in that charter to enable it to deal with the immediate problems which Mr. Truman by implication assigned to it.

In his Delphic role as interpreter of the oracle, Mr. Byrnes did very well, managing to bring this country's policy back into focus without actually saying that his superior had precipitated a very difficult political situation by a few off-hand remarks. It may now be assumed that Mr. Byrnes is entirely correct in his presentation of the policy of this country in upholding the function of UNO under terms of the Charter. But it is also important to examine just what Mr. Truman actually said and the trend of thinking thus reflected.

The President of the United States, of course, may not be quoted directly at his news conferences. But within the limits of that rule, it can be reported that Mr. Truman said there are no plans for another meeting of the Big Three because he is not in favor of special conferences. Special conferences ruined the League of Nations, he continued, adding that we want UNO to work. He is not in favor of special conferences and never has been. The United Nations will take over soon.

"How soon do you think that will be?" he was asked.

About 90 days, he replied.

"That will obviate the necessity for three or four-power conferences?"

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That is what it is for, he continued. If it operates as it should, there will be no need for future meetings of the Big Three or any other international conferences.

If that news conference exchange were made to stand by itself, there might be reason to accept the Byrnes apologia that the President misunderstood or was misunderstood. But, on his own record, he has been thinking aloud of the pleasures implicit in the possibility that torturing problems might be turned over to all the nations of the world for quick and painless settlement inside the framework of UNO. After the issuance of the ABC communiqué on atomic energy here earlier last month, Mr. Truman had stated firmly at his news conference that he felt the new UNO atomic commission should be established under the world assembly where every nation could have a voice in the argument. There was no recognition in that statement, either, of any special responsibility either explicit or implicit on the part of this country as a supreme power.

THE CARDINAL ELEMENT in all this seems to be escapism. The President would be the first to admit that he is no miracle man in international affairs. There is sound reason to believe that he came breathlessly close to complete deadlock at Potsdam. His policy and his deputy, Mr. Byrnes, met a deadlock face to face at the London Council of Foreign Ministers. Because limited agreement comes hard at the Big Three meetings and because the first Big Five attempt to erect a peace framework brought an impasse instead, Mr. Truman seemed to be fleeing almost desperately to the national anonymity of a world assembly where the voice of this country could be blended into the roar of the voices of 50 other states.

Such escape, of course, is an impossibility. On deliberate consideration, Mr. Truman no doubt will concur in that conclusion. But the unpleasant fact that the President indulged in vocal daydreaming in the presence of some 150 reporters leaves only one conclusion. It is time for him to go back to the basic premises on which the late Franklin Roosevelt first forged the unity of the United States, Great Britain and Russia—unity on which the entire structure of the United Nations must stand or fall.

Those premises, whether or not the President likes special conferences, impel consultation and conferences of the four great powers. The necessity for consultation among the United States, Russia, Britain and China on all the issues extraneous to the UNO charter stems from the Declaration of Four Nations on General Security at Moscow, negotiated by Cordell Hull and announced on November 1, 1943. There can be no compromise with the commitment that was and is explicit in the Moscow Declaration:

> Recognizing the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments; the [Big Four] jointly declare . . . that for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the reëstablishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations. . . .

It was that great-power assurance of police functions that made possible and practicable the conception of UNO. Dumbarton Oaks initially, and San Francisco finally, were premised on the assumption of all the world that while UNO was gathering its strength, the great powers would consult together, first to win the war and eventually to police the vanquished until the world organization could take over. And there was at no time serious challenge of the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin assumption that those powers charged with paramount responsibility should consult to provide the leadership and agreement preceding postwar settlements.

The small powers not only recognized this assumption; they upheld it. At San Francisco, there was no more vocal champion of the rights of small democracies than the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Peter Frazer. And the records of commission meetings will show that Frazer again and again argued that it is "the duty of the large powers to reach agreement—they should and must exhaust all powers to reach agreement," in advance of the showdown in votes of 51 states.

Through this recognition, the assumption of continuing great-power conferences was enshrined intact in the Charter of the United Nations in actual paraphrase as Article 106—the transition clause that pledges the might of the Big Five to guarantee a breathing spell of peace until UNO can come of age. It now would appear that Mr. Truman either has overlooked or has forgotten completely the formal "Report to the President on the Results of the San Francisco Conference" submitted by Edward R. Stettinius, which the White House itself published last July 9. This report stated:

> It is highly appropriate that the Moscow Declaration should figure prominently in Article 106, which not only mentions it by name but paraphrases it as well. Not only did that great instrument give the world promise of a new international organization and mark the beginning of great-power coöperation to make that promise a fact; it also specifically provided that the great powers would coöperate with each other and with other United Nations for the maintenance of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security.

Thus, on its face and in its "legislative history," the San Francisco Charter of the United Nations does not merely prohibit assignment of the problems Mr. Truman wishfully would bestow upon it. It actively repels such problems, directing them back to the great powers

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for the leadership which can be achieved only through Big Five unity.

So long as Mr. Truman pursued the course carefully fixed by his predecessor, things somehow managed to be accomplished. That course, reduced to its simplest terms, was unity achieved through great-power consultation. If this procedure was the touchstone of achievement last spring at San Francisco, it can be the touchstone next spring in Europe. But the President must turn his back on the kind of escapism in which he has been indulging and face up to the responsibilities of American leadership which the final San Francisco report said "results not from the Charter but from the position of the United States in world affairs, that is, from its power, its authority and its moral prestige."

The presidential elimination of the element of personality need not be fatal; there still remain the media of ministerial consultation and of diplomatic interchanges. Since Mr. Truman has chosen, either by design or happenstance, to eliminate one of the three means of concerting policy for unity, he must take care that no further slips mar the two that remain.

Industrial Uses of Atomic Power

by Walter Isard and Vincent Whitney

THE ATOMIC BOMB exploded more than Japanese soil. It unleashed the imaginations of men and, with its host of unknowns, produced a field day of prediction. In the envisioned Atomic Age, nuclear power will run our motor cars and radioactive particles will light our homes. Cheap power and impending destruction will be the positive and negative forces dispersing our population and industry. But it is by no means proved that the social and economic consequences of atomic power are such as to revolutionize our present structural and institutional arrangements. It is, in fact, quite untrue in any immediate future.

A basic consideration is the impact of atomic power upon real output. To what extent will such output per capita rise as a consequence of the harnessing of atomic energy for individual and for industrial-commercial use?

Power costs show wide variation in relation to the total production costs of separate industries. Among the distributive groups, expenditures for fuel and power are negligible compared to other costs, such as labor. Among extractive industries, unfortunately, exact data are not available. For all manufacturing industries in this country in 1939, however, the *Census of Manufactures* reports a fuel and purchased energy cost of under 2.5 percent of the total value of product.

For purposes of argument, let us accept the extreme hypothesis that atomic-power costs will approach zero. The human effort corresponding to the 2.5-percent power costs in manufacturing industries would then be freed for other production or for leisure. Obviously, consequent increase in real output would be small. Power per labor unit would, conversely, tend to show a considerable increase. In other words, a substantial substitution of power for labor would occur. If atomic energy ultimately became available in spool or capsule form, labor would be freed of the necessity to produce heavy fuel and power-consuming machinery. But such gains might well be canceled by the need for complicated and expensive equipment for the controlled release of atomic energy.

BECAUSE of the technical problems involved, the first application of atomic energy will be likely in an area where large-scale power use will make feasible investment in the heavy and complicated machinery necessary for radiation control. A logical priority is thus given to its use in central power stations as a substitute for coal and waterpower in the generation of electricity. Its advantage will obviously lie in the tremendous power yield per unit of investment in plant and equipment.

The competitive cost position of the various power sources is far from established. Recent estimates of the cost of uranium, for instance, probably mean little in the light of future technological developments.

Turning to existing power sources, we find figures of the National Resources Planning Board which indicate that by 1936, industrial power rates to large-scale users ran as low as four mills a kilowatt-hour, with a modal rate of between eight and twelve mills. Since then, rates have continued to drop.

Power costs over the nation are spotty, and obviously central power plants based on atomic energy will appear first in areas of relatively high cost or where present plants are sparsely located in relation to existing or potential power needs. Consumer power

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charges are, of course, well above those for industrial users, mainly because of the high costs of transmission-distribution. In 1943, the average revenue accruing to electric utilities from residential or domestic customers was 3.64 cents a killowatt-hour, though here again, rates for separate centers showed wide variation. It is a reasonable assumption that power rates will decline further in the next two or three decades, perhaps be halved. By this time, atomic energy distributed as electricity should have become a competitive power source. The relatively low rate then prevailing would make any further sharp cut in power charges to the individual consumer unlikely, although a gradual decline in rates would undoubtedly continue. More widespread and intensive use of power would permit lower-cost transmission and distribution; and the relative abundance of atomic power would make the avoidance of waste through an efficient but relatively high-cost transmission system less compelling.

The development of spool or capsule-form energy would probably offer the greatest likelihood of an ultimate low-cost energy source to the individual consumer. Such a development, however, is remote, and even if made practical, would probably find its first use not in direct service to the consumer but in areas of commercial operation where fuel cost is secondary.

The continuing gradual declines we have indicated in the cost of electricity generated from coal and water power may occur as a result of savings in several directions. Reduction of fixed charges, possible increase in thermal efficiency in steam-electric plans through the use of new binary cycles, and new technological developments would all serve to place non-atomic-energy forms in still more favorable positions. We foresee, then, marked increases in per-capita real output paralleling those we have experienced in the past and instigated in part by the development of atomic power.

INDUSTRIAL LOCATION is another economic reality of first importance. It has been asserted that the spatial structure of the nation's industry must change with the emergence of techniques for the practical utilization of atomic energy. We shall ignore the suggestion that military considerations may force a decentralization of industry and population—although we doubt such a move prior to a period of actual emergency—and consider only the economic argument.

Such an argument is simply an observation that power will become an ubiquity of insignificant cost and that industries will be free to move to more advantageous locations. The industries for which purchased energy and fuels comprise the largest fraction of total costs are the major fields of enterprise dominated by iron and steel. The latter have in the past been chiefly oriented to fuel and power sources with a resultant heavy concentration in the Appalachian coal fields and the Great Lakes Waterway System. They have themselves served as centers of attraction for auxiliary processors who, with the major producers, have attracted both population and transportation to the area and have created a belt of large consumption centers.

There is little reason to expect any heavy migration of industry because of the development of atomic energy. The large group of processors for whom power cost is a small fraction of total cost or who are primarily oriented to markets (bakers), to materials (stone quarriers) or to other factors, will be relatively unaffected. The remaining industries, those we have been discussing above, will now become more than ever sensitive to the location of the consumption centers they have created. Furthermore, many of their sites have been chosen with a view to accessibility to ore deposits. The relatively favorable transport advantage of their present location remains. The same is true of their labor supply. Both the quantity and the quality of skilled and unskilled workers suitable to industrial requirements have been gradually accumulated. In spite of the increased mobility of labor in recent years, inertia and vested interests in their homes and communities will probably prevent any large migration of workers along with a migration of plant.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT that the majority of primary industries in the United States were developed and located during the nineteenth century in a period of rapid population growth and of large migration. It was, in the latter sense, a period of mobile labor supply. Today, the situation is entirely different. Net reproduction rates are already below unity, indicating a failure of our population to replace itself in subsequent generations, and the nation is entering a stationary period. Both labor and consumption locations are relatively fixed.

We do not mean to suggest that the pattern of industrial location is now rigidly determined. Current trends, for example, suggest that the notable coal orientation of the past is weakening, with some resultant dispersion of new plants. Even though atomic energy would undermine the whole basis of coal orientation and make theoretically possible a vastly increased rate of dispersion, there is slight indication that any such revolutionary changes in the economy will occur.

In the world economy, potentials do exist for changes of a more fundamental character. Atomic energy may well be a factor in the utilization of rich natural resources which lie in relatively unexploited parts of the globe; and in consequence, important structural shifts in industry and commerce may occur. Once the ubiquity of atomic power makes development of these areas possible, they may serve as major investment outlets for the highly industrialized nations. But it would seem desirable to maintain a healthy skepticism about far-reaching change even in this larger field.

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It is likely that the greatest probabilities of change lie in the creation of new industrial and consumer products. Unfortunately, what these products or their social and economic consequences will be, is largely guesswork. While such an industry as oil might be greatly reduced in size, new industries—for instance, those which the automobile and the science of electronics have created—will undoubtedly emerge. The combination of atomic power with electronic control may actually make possible increased abundance and increased leisure for men.

Such tentative observations as these make us doubt that we stand at the gates of revolutionary economic changes. There seems slight substantiation, too, for the related claims that the problem of investment opportunities is now in great part solved for many years to come and that the need for an aggressive governmental fiscal policy designed to promote full employment and social welfare is diminished.

The Atomic Age—if we live to see it—will be the outgrowth of orderly, evolutionary development in the direction of a more ample economy.

Oil, Blood and Sand

by Inge Kaiser

King Ibn Saud, according to a recent news dispatch, is said to have stated his satisfaction with American oil companies and to have labeled rumors of cancellation of concessions as "a big wind." In answer to an inquiry by the Arabian American Oil Company, "he repeated his deep concern about Palestine, but said he differentiates between American companies and government, which makes policy." His present revenue in royalties is estimated at $6 million annually.

It is possible that he has found during the last month that he could not follow through on his earlier threat, or he might want to hold that strategy until later. We believe the following considerations are still relevant to the situation in the Middle East. – I. K.

IN THE EASTERN SECTION of the Arabian peninsula the monotony of endless sand dunes is interrupted by the slim derricks of the Arabian American Oil Company. Out of these wells flows oil—and trouble. On the west side of the peninsula lies Palestine. Here the stranded Jews of Europe are trying to find refuge from persecution. No railroad or pipeline connects the two areas. Yet the request for unlimited immigration into Palestine has had strange repercussions: Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia, has threatened that if this request is granted, he will stop the flow of oil from Saudi-Arabian wells.

Until the arrival of the atomic age, the present is an oil age. In the words of Senator O'Mahoney, "There is nothing that men and nations will not do to gain control of it [petroleum]. They have been known to bribe kings and potentates, to foment revolutions, to overthrow governments. Purely individual rights and interests have frequently been of very little moment in the struggle for petroleum." On the other hand, when questioned about the Palestine situation, Foreign Secretary Bevin declared, "The British will not be affected by considerations of oil. This is a human problem."

What makes up this human problem? According to the Harrison report on conditions in Germany, there is a dire need and a great desire on the part of Jews to go to Palestine. The oft-stated obstacle of animosity between Arab and Jew doesn't jibe with recent reports on the ease and friendliness of relations between these two groups. The argument of Palestine's inability to support an increasing population has been boldly answered by one of the best reclamation experts of this country. The vast difference between the standard of living in present-day Palestine and that of surrounding Arab countries affords a glimpse of the agricultural and industrial potential.

Yet the Palestine question is being used as a political issue in Arab countries. The immediate demand all over the Western world for a settlement in Palestine has made the question acute. Ibn Saud, without reference to the human problem, threatens to cut off the oil. He is taking this stand because he fears the introduction of Western ideas by Palestine-educated Arabs and the example of an industrialized Palestine to his feudal rule.

Ibn Saud must know full well that he could not operate the oil fields himself. Although Arabian American, the operating company (it is owned jointly by Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Company), employs thousands of Arabs, for more complex jobs it imported Italian prisoners from Ethiopia and Eritrea, and repeated advertisements here beckon American workers to come to Saudi Arabia to perform the skilled tasks for the company. Of course, all administrative work is done by Americans. Actually to disown Arabian American would be to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, unless His Highness

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has other plans in mind. Ibn Saud's treasury is too dependent upon outside contributions.

There are two explanations for Ibn Saud's bluff. He is either counting on Standard to put up a stiff fight for a continued State Department policy of appeasement, or on the economic rivalry among the Allied powers with interests in the Middle East.

WHEN, LAST MAY, the five berobed Arabian princes came to the San Francisco Conference, they were whisked about in Standard of California cars, their bills were paid by Standard. On their way up, they had been shown through some of the Texas oil fields and refineries by Standard Oil and Texas Company officials, and in the Galveston area it had been arranged for them to be guests of the Navy.

Ibn Saud's relationship with Standard dates back to 1933. In 1930 Standard had acquired a concession on the Island of Bahrein, a sheikdom in the Persian Gulf. In order to gain marketing facilities, Standard sold a half-interest to the Texas Company. Production had followed initial exploration so rapidly that Ibn Saud was deeply impressed with American methods. (English interests earlier had prospected and given up in that area.) Besides, the United States was not an imperialist power and would not be likely to interfere in his internal affairs. The Palestine question was not then acute. He granted Arabian American a large concession in 1933. Apparently, Ibn Saud was so well pleased with the way this relationship worked out that in 1939, in preference to much higher bids from the German and Japanese governments, he awarded an additional concession over the remainder of his territory to this company. The payment was $1.5 million in gold coin and a yearly rental of hundreds of thousands of dollars. In addition, Arabian American came to Ibn Saud's rescue financially with loans on advance royalties of about $10 million between 1939 and 1941 alone. The annual royalty was about $1.5 million.

The Jews are still living in concentration camps in Europe. That is the human aspect. Ibn Saud knows that the combined investment of Standard and Texas in Saudi Arabia and Bahrein amounts to $100 million already, and he appeals to Standard's interest in oil. Ibn Saud also knows that Standard is in a good position to take strong steps to protect its investment. Standard's people hold high jobs in many American government departments.

Standard of California's vice-president, Ralph K. Davies, is the Deputy Petroleum Administrator for War. In that capacity he had tremendous powers to direct the activities of the oil industry at home and abroad. He aided Secretary Ickes in negotiating the Anglo-American Oil Agreement. (Secretary Ickes himself stated that this agreement was designed to deal primarily with the Middle East oil problem.) James Terry Duce, vice-president of Arabian American, was head of the Foreign Division of the PAW for two years. Under PAW's Directive 70 he had almost plenipotentiary powers over foreign oil operations. The assistant director of the Theatre Division of the Army-Navy Petroleum Board was Lieutenant Colonel Eugene T. Kavanaugh, former Washington representative of the Bahrein Petroleum Company (Standard of California and Texas' other Middle East subsidiary). Max W. Thornburg, vice-president of Bahrein, was Petroleum Adviser in the State Department. And Arabian American's liaison man with the court of Ibn Saud was a main source of information on economic conditions in Saudi Arabia for the Cairo Embassy. It is no reflection on the honesty or patriotism of these individuals to point out that obviously, they could not be expected to follow governmental policies inimical to the interests of the companies from which they had come and to which they naturally expected to return.

When the trans-Arabian pipeline was first publicly proposed in February, 1944, a project to be financed by the United States, there was such protest that it seemed as if Standard had overplayed its hand. Secretary Ickes, by the way, was not only concerned with oil problems; he was also interested in solving the human problem. Later in the same year he declared, "I . . . hope that the world's statesmen who gather to write the terms of an enduring peace will keep before them the tremendous possibilities for good which are inherent in the development of Palestine as a homeland for Jews, particularly for those unfortunates who were the victims of the Germanic madness." Based on security considerations, the pipeline plan was quite sound. The terms were so favorable, however, to the oil companies in the Middle East, and so unfavorable to the American people, that public opinion was aroused. And so was the envy of the nonparticipating oil companies, who clothed their objections in an outcry against government entry into the oil industry. The strategic value of the pipeline to a powerful role of the United States in world politics remains. And Standard can be assured that diplomatic protection will be afforded this project if it is built privately by Arabian American, as now contemplated.

IF UNITED STATES SECURITY can be used by Standard as a tool to protect its interests in the Middle East, then Ibn Saud will be able to get away with playing his fifth ace. His bluff can be called only if United States foreign policy is based on the broad principles now established, integrating the supply of petroleum requirements with a democratic solution for Palestine.

Ibn Saud's other plan would also foil the hopes of homeless European Jews. Since companies of American nationals are by no means the only ones in the Middle East, he could try to play various national interests against each other.

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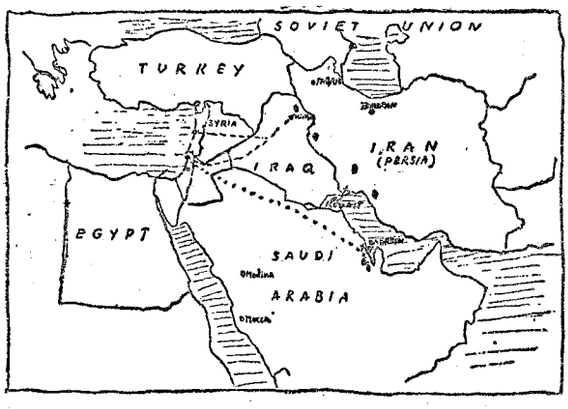
As early as 1901 the British government obtained a concession covering five-sixths of Iran. Iran is estimated to contain 25 percent of proved Middle East oil reserves: four billion barrels. In 1944, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, whose majority stock is held by the British government, was producing 100 million barrels of oil, more than twice as much as the other Persian Gulf fields combined.

This Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is one of four groups, each owning 23.75 percent of the stock of the Iraq Petroleum Company, the only concessionary in Iraq. The other groups are Royal Dutch Shell, Compagnie Nationale des Pétroles, and Near East Development Company, which, in turn, is owned by Standard of New Jersey and Socony. Iraq's reserves are estimated at four million barrels. Production in 1944 was 28 million barrels. In eight years, from 1934 to 1942, more than $90 million was paid to the Iraq government.

The French, in addition to their share in Iraq Petroleum Company, hold the League mandates over Syria and Lebanon, although officially these countries were given their independence in 1943. Preliminary surveys promise large reserves in southern Syria. Iraq Petroleum's pipeline traverses both countries, with its terminal in Tripoli, Lebanon.

Russia obtained a large concession in northern Iran in 1907. In 1921, renouncing all imperialist objectives, she gave this right back to the Iranian government, with the provision that no other concession be granted in that area without Russia's consent.

Ibn Saud might seek an agreement to operate his oil properties with one of these three governments. In 1938, the British were importing only 25 percent of their petroleum requirements from Iraq and Iran. Most of the remainder came from the Western Hemisphere. If forced to remain within their sterling bloc, the British might welcome an offer of the Saudi Arabian wells. France, too, might want to add to her economic and political strength by taking them over. Russia was recently trying to obtain an oil concession in Azerbaijan. She might find it opportune to spread her influence along her southern flank. Ibn Saud would probably fear this influence more than he would welcome the economic assistance. Yet he might approach any one of these powers for aid. If successful, he might gain support in his threat to immigration into Palestine.



• Oil fields
x Large refineries
---- Pipelines
.... Projected pipelines

The Anglo-American Oil Agreement, concluded in October, was designed to prevent schemes of this sort. Perhaps Secretary Ickes, in pushing it through, was concerned simultaneously for the solution of the Palestine problem. The agreement provides that concessions already granted shall be respected. But it is not yet binding. Moreover, only England and the United States are parties to it. The oil industry had been so aghast, at the first draft in 1944, at this new "government interference" that it forced the elimination of the more constructive articles. Only immediate negotiation among all four powers concerned of a strong and binding treaty based on the principles of the Atlantic Charter can effectively call Ibn Saud's bluff.

The discussion of Ibn Saud's possible plans shows up the irresponsibility of past policy in respect to the exploitation of oil-bearing countries. Although their rulers grow rich on royalties, almost no improvement is made in the lot of the people, either by the producing company or by the potentate. Arabs are still dismally poor, diseased and largely dependent upon the charity dispensed by their feudal lord. This situation is the source of Ibn Saud's strength.

If the living standards of the people themselves were improved—as a condition of oil production—by the introduction of irrigation and of modern agricultural methods, by the establishment of schools, hospitals and other sanitary facilities, not only would some human problems be solved but a better relation between foreign nationals and Arabs would result. Markets would be created for oil and for American exports—and, incidentally, this method would more closely correspond to announced principles of foreign policy. This program would also further weaken the present threat of a "holy war," which even now is mere saber-rattling. There are no organized troops at Ibn Saud's command. Nor is there the hatred of Jews depicted by some Arab leaders. Whatever there is of animosity seems chiefly "inspired."

If American security depends upon access to Middle East oil, the suggestions made above could contribute to a solution of the oil problem and they could aid in solving the human problem of the Jews—and of the Arabs. A firm policy for Palestine combined with a firm policy for oil, carried out not by Standard's agents, but by responsible top executives, is the only method of proving Ibn Saud wrong. Otherwise, he will be justified in his faith in Standard's omnipotence, and in the inability of the Allies to resolve their economic conflicts.

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London Letter

by Bruce Bliven

THE BACK-BENCHERS. – A close view shows that the present Labor government is more divided internally than as seen from New York. It is an ominous sign when Mr. Bevin, as Foreign Minister, makes a speech with a rather anti-Russian flavor which is loudly cheered by the Conservatives who are nominally his opponents, and received in dead silence by the back-benchers (the rank-and-file members) of his own party's overwhelming majority in the House. These back-benchers are by no means all trade-union spokesmen and lifelong members of the working class, as one might suppose. On the contrary, a large part of them are young people from the middle class with a strong radical bent, which they acquired, more often than not, at one of the universities, especially Oxford or Cambridge. They are getting increasingly restive under the continued pursuit of a foreign policy which in general, so they feel, is indistinguishable from that of the coalition government supposedly repudiated in the July election.

Some people say that these back-benchers are strongly pro-Russian, with an emotional loyalty that is rather reminiscent of the feeling that was widespread in the United States 15 or 20 years ago. Others feel that their attitude is less one of simple enthusiasm for the USSR than fear that the world is being divided into hostile camps, and an anxiety that people in the West should understand the Russian point of view about, for example, Franco, Greece and the atomic bomb.

Whether these back-benchers, some of whom may in fact be the front-benchers of the cabinet before very long, are actually anti-American, is a question that is hotly debated in London. They are certainly in warm accord with American progressivism as represented by Henry Wallace and the CIO-PAC and affiliated groups. They seem to show an increasing skepticism about President Truman, Secretary Byrnes and the recent drift of Washington policy. Occasionally you meet someone who says that a socialist economy like Great Britain's must not tie itself to a land of conservative "free enterprise" such as the United States predominantly is; but, in fact, the present program of the Labor government calls for socializing only a few industries, most of them domestic in their activities, and there is such great scope left for individual business activity that the problem hardly seems insurmountable. If some of the Labor back-benchers felt Britain should not ratify Bretton Woods, others argued that the wisest course is to ratify and then proceed to plan ahead to sterilize the effects of another disastrous American depression, if we insist on having one.

A Hard Life in the Commons. – Compared with the conditions for a member of Parliament, American congressmen lead lives of luxury. The MP gets a salary of only $2,400 per year, subject to income tax of $1,000 and an expense for postage which may easily equal $400 per year. He gets an insignificant sum for traveling expenses, but has no office of any kind; he gets his mail by standing in line in front of a letter rack where he shares his box with all other MP's whose names begin with the same initial. Members from places other than London are facing a housing shortage even worse (if possible) than that in Washington. The members' restaurant in the House serves fairish food at controlled prices, but some of the new Labor members are poor men who find even these prices rather high, and for them, an inexpensive cafeteria has been opened on a lower floor. As might be expected, the working-class constituents of the new Labor members feel closer to them than has been customary with MP's in the past; and the result is an unprecedented, overwhelming flood of mail asking all sorts of advice: how to get someone out of the army, how to get a license for house repairs or to buy furniture, how to get released from a job in a war factory to which one is "frozen." Many of the members, as a result of all these problems, appear to be getting overtired—a fact which might affect their judgment.

Planning New Towns. – One of the most exciting things an American in England can do these days is to look at the remarkable new plans for many of the cities and towns—London, Manchester, Bristol, Coventry, Plymouth. Several of them have been issued in book form, replete with handsome illustrations. Not all of them have been officially adopted as yet; the English style is to put out the plan just as it comes from the drawing boards of the experts, and get the public reaction, before letting official authorities (who are sometimes affected by special private interests, just as with us) get to work on it. It is safe to say, however, that nearly all the plans will be adopted without very serious departures from the present outlines. The blitz destroyed so many buildings in so many places that resistance to the new ideas is far less than it would otherwise have been.

The chief feature of all these plans is a "green belt" around the city, consisting of many square miles of parks or farmlands, owned by the community and strictly prohibited from being resold to any private interest. Some of these green belts already exist in large part: London, for instance, has bought thou-

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sands of acres toward such a project. Other important items are two or more concentric, high-speed, circular parkways to carry traffic rapidly around the congested central areas, numerous small, new parks scattered everywhere, and new housing developments planned as a unit. The fundamental group would be about 2,000 families, living in sufficient isolation from other units to give a sense of community; each group would have its own schools, stores and so on. In practice, of course, there are great deviations from this scheme.

Some of these plans are criticized by professional experts because they provide for housing involving 50, 100 or even more persons per acre, instead of 30 or 35. Why, the experts ask, make plans now which are inferior to the best that is already known? Why create what will be looked upon in a few years' time as overcrowded areas, no matter how superior they may be to present-day conditions? Others answer them by arguing for "skyscrapers set in parks" which would enable large numbers of people to live in close proximity to their jobs, or they point to the terrible conditions to be faced in London because of existing land values, etc. Whatever the facts may be about this, it is certainly true that in their general sweep and imaginative daring, the new city plans are many years in advance of anything seriously brought forward in the United States, except perhaps the Norman Bel Geddes scheme for Toledo.

These new plans, of course, will not be fully realized for many years. It is not proposed to tear down large masses of existing and useful buildings in order to build anew on the sites. Once the plan has been accepted, however, any property which comes into the market will be used only as the plan suggests.

GI University. – One of the oddities of British life this autumn has been a full-fledged American university, complete with every latest campus novelty. At Shrivenham, near Oxford, buildings erected a few years ago for a Royal Artillery school were taken over by the American Army and plans put through to give some soldiers at least a taste of university life. Each group has consisted of about 4,000 men, who must have completed a high-school education; actually a large part of them had done some college work before they went into the Army. They are chosen on a percentage basis from units in the European theatre; the men apply for permission to go, and their commanding officers must agree. Each course is eight weeks, but the instructors say that the men are so serious and work so hard that the result is the equivalent of a full semester at home. The man who gets a satisfactory grade in any subject is given a certificate with the hope and expectation that if he goes to a university when he returns home, he will receive credit toward a degree.

The subjects to be taught were selected after studying the results of a questionnaire circulated among the soldiers. In general, the courses are those that are standard in the United States—history, languages, philosophy, economics. There is a heavy trend toward agricultural training and an extraordinary degree of interest in journalism. The three hundred members of the faculty are all American college professors, some of them—like Frank Dobie of Texas, for example—well known. Each took a year's leave of absence from his own institution.

With a degree of initiative that left British observers gasping, the GI students at Shrivenham overnight organized a vast complex of extracurricular activities—all types of athletics, journalism, a jazz band, a symphony orchestra, a little theatre, a college paper, a low-powered student radio broadcasting station. In fact, a few hours on the campus would convince anyone that he was at the University of Iowa, or Nebraska, or Kansas, were it not for one sole English touch: the cars drive on the wrong side of the road.

Having started all this overnight, the War Department has also stopped it with equal suddenness. After only 16 weeks, Shrivenham is to be closed down at once, and three smaller, separate institutions in Germany will take its place.

No Planes. – During the war we used to hear a lot about the age of aviation which would follow. To several thousand Americans and others in London in October and November, that was a rather sour joke. Airplane service across the ocean was at a very low minimum—only a few planes per week. The daily press has reported in detail the difficulties encountered by Pan-American Airways when it tried to fly passengers across the ocean at a fare lower than was acceptable either to competing American lines or to the British Overseas Airways Corporation. For this and

Mullally in the London Tribune

"Any gum, chum—on a strictly long-term, interest-free, dollar-loan basis?"

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other reasons, the waiting lists of would-be airplane passengers in London have mounted into many hundreds. Indeed, the struggle to get to America either by air or by sea is a heartbreaking one. Thousands of United States citizens are trying to get space on anything that floats, and thousands more from every other country are engaged, even more hopelessly, in the same effort. This writer is coming home in a 3,500-ton cargo ship from Glasgow as one of eight men in a cabin designed for two, and lucky to get the chance.

Heartbreaking is the plight of the British brides of GI's who are being left behind while their husbands go home to be demobilized. I talked the other day with the chairwoman of their committee, who explained the situation without bitterness but with a certain sense of urgency.

"There are 54,000 of us in Britain alone," she said. "Already we have had 20,000 babies, and many more are on the way. Most of our husbands have gone home or will do so soon. Many of them have been 'demobbed,' can't find work, and are unable to send their wives any money, family allowances of course being stopped when a man leaves the Army. It's bad when husband and wife are separated, perhaps for years, so soon after marriage; and the babies of course are all American citizens. We know that transport is difficult; but we read about American ships being laid up in the Hudson River, and it upsets us."

A Walk 'Round Southampton.—For this reporter, his first impression of postwar England remains his most vivid one. A mild October evening with a young moon hanging mistily overhead, looking down on streets terribly devastated in the blitz; houses and rows of houses completely demolished, or with mere shells standing so that you look in through gaping windows at great heaps of rubble extending as high as the ceiling. To save coal, the street lighting is at a minimum; you can just grope your way along. There is almost no wheeled traffic, and in the hush you hear the sturdy tramp of hundreds and hundreds of American GI's walking out with Southampton girls, clutching each other firmly around the waist, as though, by that close contact, trying to overcome the essential strangeness of young male and female with such different backgrounds.

Most of the Southampton boys with whom those girls should be walking out—or more probably having a dish of tea by the stove in the kitchen—are in barracks on the Rhine, or farther off still, assuming that they are still alive. The American girls with whom these GI's should be having a coke at the drugstore after the second show at the movie, are at all-female parties or out with—as the Southampton GI sees it—the wrong man. . . . The more you think about it, the more you are convinced that a global war is a bad idea.

Borderline Breakfast

by R. M. Cunningham Jr.

A BLOCK AWAY, the sprawling, teeming Negro district of Chicago's South Side begins. There is no middle ground: one street is all white; the next is all black. Along here the dividing line has held fast for twenty years. For twenty years, the real-estate people have been saying that the neighborhood would deteriorate because of the nearness of the hated Black Belt. But this street looks about the same as always—like an outlying car-line business street in any big city. Here are the little one-door shops, the delicatessen, the haberdashery, the shoe repairer's, the fish store, the gas station, the cleaner's, the pawnshop, the tavern, the locksmith's, the body and fender shop, the plumber's, the hat store, the real-estate office and the corner drugstore. On down the street, past the dividing line, all the same trades reappear—but in the run-down storefronts of old, shabby, neglected buildings. Here and there on that side are stores with monk's-cloth curtains in the display windows and Scriptures lettered in bold, irregular white on the glass.

Always there has been a little tension here where two races live in self-conscious closeness. But recently pressure has mounted steadily, with the swelling flood of population on the Negro side rising higher and higher against the invisible dike of restrictive covenants. Not far from here, white businessmen and residents protested viciously a few months ago when the Army built a barracks in their midst for Negro Wacs. The Wacs are assigned to nearby Gardiner General Hospital, to help care for men who've been hurt fighting for freedom.

In this borderline neighborhood today the air is charged with race. I felt it as soon as I went inside the drugstore. Usually a drugstore at breakfast-time is a loose, easy, noisy sort of place. The customers always talk to one another and to the countermen; the countermen call orders and wisecracks back and forth as they work; everybody kids the cashier, and she kids

R. M. Cunningham Jr. has done editorial and publicity work in the medical and hospital fields of Chicago for the past seven years. He has been an editor of Hygeia *since* 1941, *and before that worked for the Blue Cross hospitalization-insurance plan.*

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back; dishes and glasses and knives and forks keep up a friendly, clattering accompaniment to the sound of the voices.

In here it was different. The cashier was sorting over some checks, but she kept glancing up toward the soda fountain, and then looking quickly away. Over at the drug counter a man who could have been the manager was making lazy passes at the air with a fly-swatter, only he wasn't watching the flies; he was looking at the soda fountain too. The men behind the fountain weren't smiling up into the faces of the customers as they generally do while they're working; they were looking down at their hands instead. They weren't slapping things around the way they usually do, either; the clatter was subdued. This drugstore had its guard up.

Only one man was talking. This man was sitting at a fountain stool, eating noisily and sloppily and talking with his mouth full. He was a big, red, beefy character—the type that plays the tough sergeant in movies about army life. He wore a green sport-shirt, and his fat shoulders pulled its short sleeves up tight under his damp armpits. A rattan-straw hat with a streaked gray band was pushed back from his forehead—the way a sergeant's garrison cap is pushed back in the movies when he's being especially mean or sarcastic.

The next two stools were occupied by a Negro man and woman. The young man was light brown, thin-faced and thin-chested, his hair cut so short that the blue of his scalp showed; he had on a dark suitcoat, and his white shirt-collar was turned down outside. The woman was about the same age and color, dressed just as plainly and neatly. They were eating quietly, looking down at their plates, not saying anything.

"Give the country back to the Americans," Sport-shirt was proclaiming, spraying toast crumbs across the counter. He kept looking around to make sure we were all paying attention. I tried not to listen, because I knew what he was going to say. I went over to the magazine rack and tried to focus my attention on American literature—comics and Westerns and detective and movie magazines. But I couldn't help listening anyway: The Jews and the Communists and the Foreigners were stealing the country. Already they had control of the government. It was a gigantic plot.

He went on and on. Every now and then, with an exaggerated movement of his whole body, he would reach across in front of the Negro sitting next to him to get a napkin, or the sugar, or catsup. Once when he did this he jostled the Negro's arm so that he dropped a forkful of food. But the Negro didn't say anything; he didn't even look up.

"One good thing anyhow," the man was saying now, "—we got rid of those God-damned Roosevelts!" He looked around for approval. "The whole God-damned family!" he added meaningfully.

I knew what was going to happen. In a minute he would get on Eleanor. He wouldn't say anything you could put your finger on, but his sneering words would radiate race hatred. Pretty soon now, I thought, the Negroes would give up. They would pay for their half-eaten breakfasts and leave rather than stay and take it any longer. Then, after they'd gone, Sport-shirt would really warm up. He would inveigh darkly about what "they" were going to get if they didn't watch their step and remember their place.

I stood dumbly by the magazine rack, feeling vaguely afraid. I thought of an article by a Cleveland psychiatrist I had read recently, explaining in the unarguable logic of science that race prejudice is always a psychopathic trait which comes from deep-driven feelings of inferiority. The person who hates Negroes or Jews or "foreigners" feels inadequate or insecure; the idea of an inferior race builds him up with himself by providing someone he can look down on. I thought: *If only there were some way to make people understand that these hatreds we exhibit to show our superiority are really giveaways of shameful weakness. . . .*

Then Sport-shirt reached in front of the Negro again—but this time he didn't make it. I saw a thin brown hand shoot out and grasp the big fuzzy red arm at the wrist, holding it tight. Fear squeezed at my lungs and made the blood pound in my ears. The loud voice stopped short in the middle of a word. Everything stopped.

It couldn't have been more than a fraction of a second before the Negro spoke, but it seemed longer.

"Why don't you ask for it?" he said in a thin, quiet voice. He dropped the man's arm then, half pushing it away from him as he let go—a gesture beautifully compounded of strength and restraint—and he handed over whatever it was the man was reaching for.

Sport-shirt couldn't face up to it, and he had enough sense not to try. He mumbled something, and subsided. Gradually the silence filled up again, first with a trickle of low voices and gently handled crockery and then, as the tension unrolled, with the quickening staccato of drugstore-breakfast noises.

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Washington Notes

Three-Ring Circus

AVAUNT YE, political analysis, away with calm interpretation! Sing rather this week, O Muse, the upturned curl of Pat Hurley's mustache, the resonant beating of GOP breasts at the Pearl Harbor inquiry, the spotlight sunburn and the marmoreal splendor of the new congressional Era of Inquiry!

Congress this past week has done dull, dutiful things. The Senate voted full support for UNO's police force, 65—7; the bill now goes to the House. The House passed the second UNRRA authorization; the bill now goes to the Senate. Meanwhile, Congress has almost finished making available the balance of the first UNRRA appropriation—$550 million—pledged last March (for lack of which European children have sickened and died).

But the thoughts of Congress were not on these things. No, not on the great British loan program just announced, nor the new Big Three meeting of Foreign Ministers. It has been on the gaudy committee investigations, investigations where you don't have to think or legislate: you just ask questions and make headlines. Let us visit three of them.

Pearl Harbor. – General George C. Marshall is testifying. What a scene! This is Hollywood's idea of what Washington is like. The room is as big as a railroad station. The ceiling rises 50 feet. Four huge chandeliers, like frozen fountains, hang down. Walls are marble; sure—better than a bathroom! Seats are packed of course, every inch jammed. Spotlights raise a slow sunburn on witness and committee; the Senators love it. Motion-picture cameras—four of them—whir on the side.

And it all centers on George Marshall. He's as conspicuous, quietly sitting there, as if he were under a microscope: his sparse, sandy red hair graying at the sides; his pink cheeks; his bulldog mouth; the highlights on his shell spectacles which he plays with, glances over and even occasionally looks through. What's he saying? What everybody already knows. His testimony quietly disproves all those GOP "plot" rumors, the John T. Flynn, Fulton Lewis, John Chamberlain stuff in Luce's *Life*. FDR didn't know in advance of the Pearl Harbor attack. Old stuff, you say? Preposterous anyway? Ah, but wait till you see the headlines. We won the war—so the leaders are on trial. Maybe it is a little odd, but anyway it's gorgeous copy and it saves worry on bothersome things, like the atomic bomb.

Hurly-burly. – There's a queue patiently waiting before another committee investigation, down the corridor, while Pearl Harbor is going on, waiting behind velvet rope barriers, like a cinema foyer. This, folks, is an even better show! Inside the room, all seats are filled for the performance, and the crowd stands two deep in the center aisle. This is another railroad station, smaller than Pearl Harbor's but still tremendous, with lots of marble and enormous gilt mirrors—big as the sides of bungalows—and snowy carved marble fireplaces that never felt a fire. What a rococo setting for the most perfect rococo thing in the room, the witness. Muse, sing to me of Pat Hurley, the 62-year-old Adonis, born in Choctaw Territory, wearing upturned, Kaiser Wilhelm mustache, gray-white hair beautiful enough to awe a wig-maker, flashing eyes and a face a whiskey firm would pay a million for, to illustrate "Men of Distinction"! There's a black-rimmed pince-nez on the noble nose, with a black cord dangling. And Pat's delivery! Nobody could do it justice. As he tells of State Department career men's plots against him in China, Iran—everywhere, he starts his sentences in slow, staccato syllables that gather speed like a locomotive getting under way, while his manly bosom swells. Is it any wonder that Cissie Patterson's rapturous columnist, Helen Essary, calls him a "god of Erin"? Pat can grab patriotic platitudes out of thinner air than anyone I know. There's a motion-picture cameraman at the hearing who knows his stuff. When Pat once gets off the ground, he presses a button, two spotlights shine blindly on the witness, and as the latter begins to soar the camera begins to grind, and another deathless bit is recorded for posterity. The newspapers lap it up. What if Jimmie Byrnes arrives next day and quietly demolishes the whole thing? Kick the State Department around; that's what Congress is here for. Wait till we get the Tyler Kent case!

The Bomb. – This hearing is disappointing. It's going on simultaneously with the other two, right on the same corridor of the Senate Office Building. But the trouble is there's no politics, no emotion. These Senators are looking into the future, not the past. The room is small, there's no fireplace, no crowd, only one mirror. The committee chairs are up around a horseshoe-like judicial bench, but only four of the "blue-ribbon" Senate committee are present under hard-working chairman Brien McMahon (D) of Connecticut. All you see here is a succession of earnest scientists; drab, quiet, professional men. All saying the same thing. It's been going on like this for a fortnight. There's not a showman in the crowd, not an upturned mustache. The audience is sparse, and though the reporters are sometimes fascinated, they know that not much they write will get into the papers. This stuff has got to compete with real news, like Pearl Harbor and Pat Hurley. What can you do with a show where all the performers just keep croaking one thing: "We can blow mankind up, We can blow mankind up, We can blow mankind up"?

Notes. – Congress puts no great confidence in Truman's labor legislation; the GOP supports it, hoping it means the end of the Democratic-labor coalition. . . . Harold Laski's visit did not aid the passage of the British loan; the best guess is that it will get grudging approval, after a trying interval of transatlantic name-calling. . . . CIO-supported Henry A. Wallace will be on rather a spot if he is called to testify on the Truman labor bill, which Philip Murray has repudiated. . . . Although critics denounce the British action in proposing a quota system for Pan-American Airways' low-rate flights to Britain, the State Department is asking Switzerland to do the same thing on exports of watches to the United States; both seek limitations till reconversion is accomplished.

Washington T. R. B.

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Strange Fruit, Etc.

The Mermaids Singing, by John van Druten. The Empire Theatre, November 28, 1945.
Strange Fruit, by Lillian Smith and Esther Smith. Royale Theatre, November 29, 1945.

THERE IS LITTLE TO SAY about Mr. van Druten's new play, "The Mermaids Singing," except that I did not find it tedious, as many people seem to have done. It was literate in the first place and smoothly directed, and well enough cast, with Mr. Walter Abel as the adult playwright, Miss Frieda Inescort as the young heroine's mother, and Miss Beatrice Pearson—a beginner of talent, evidently—as the heroine.

The story deals with a young woman who falls in love with the glamor of the playwright whose new piece is being tried out in some city not New York. She has already had experience with her fiancé, so that the playwright's yielding to temptation would not be quite the usual seduction theme. All turns out well. The play published would make agreeable reading for such persons as like that sort of novel. It steadily presents this effect when you see it on the stage. It is not a stirring effect but it is, at least, not offensive.

"Strange Fruit" is much more difficult to write about. Comparison will inevitably arise between it and "Deep Are the Roots," which is one of the top successes of the season. Both deal with the race question in the South and the central motif of each story is love between lovers of a different color, except that in "Deep Are the Roots" the man is colored and in "Strange Fruit" it is the reverse.

In comparing the plays, two points immediately appear. The first play is far more expert as stagecraft, infinitely better slicked up for Broadway. Most people on second thought would admit that the latter part gradually breaks down and is convincing only by virtue of the accumulated dramatic and emotional momentum. The speeches, instead of being moving and human, turn into trick deliveries unworthy of the character and of the tragic situation. Nevertheless, the play as a whole has a genuine go to it, and the terrific nature of the subject matter is unescapable. "Strange Fruit," taken from the well known novel, is not expertly done as a play, and at times is slow in the directing, unaccountably so, since Mr. Ferrer, the director, knows the theatre well. But it is far truer, far more at home in the South it purports to depict. The prejudices, the faults in the South as shown here, are the same as in "Deep Are the Roots," and any honest Southerner would admit them. But the surrounding qualities and life in which these elements appear are much more truly presented. That only makes the whole far more basic, tragic and moving.

I have not read Miss Smith's novel, and perhaps various motives are better handled there than in this stage version. At any rate, as things turn out, one of the main motifs of the play appears to be the fact that the young man, after years of intimacy with this young colored woman he loves, throws her over and will take a white wife. This would be more telling were it not for the fact that since time immemorial in drama and tale the man has thrown over his mistress when he decided to marry. The impact of the racial theme involved is, therefore, considerably dimmed.

There is one really remarkable scene, true and terrible, heart-breaking and bitter, where the old mammy and the little white boy and little colored boy go through the complications of the whole situation—a scene impossible to convey here.

Miss Jane White, as the colored girl loved by the young white man, was unfortunately disadvantageous to the play's effect. She has beauty, intelligence and great sincerity in her approach, but for the present is not free in the role, seems constrained, and never rich and warm in the emotional exaction. Perhaps more experience in the play will bring her to that. Many of the players were extremely well chosen. George Jenkins' settings are good.

STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

A granite bust of Adolf Hitler was sold for £500 today at an auction of the contents of the former German Embassy. The purchaser was Captain Robert Gordon-Canning, well known prewar pro-Fascist and member of the Anglo-German organization, the Link, who declared that the bust might go back to the German nation in about twenty-five years. – *From the New York* Times.

Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt wore her traditional headband, Mrs. George Washington Kavanaugh wore diamond bracelets up to her elbow, John Jacob Astor wore a white tie and an opera hat—and New York society knew that once again all was right with the world. – *From the Buffalo* Evening News.

"A man who has mastered cricket is a man who has mastered the game of life," His Excellency the Governor General [Lord Athlone of Canada] told members and guests at the annual meeting of the Ottawa Valley Cricket Council last night. – *From the Ottawa* Journal.

Calling Buck Rogers

General Groves and a number of other officers in the room were wearing the American heraldry of the atomic age. This was a shoulder patch with the star of the Army Service Forces embraced in the loop of a question mark. The tail of the question mark is fashioned into a streak of lightning plunging into an atom. – *From the New York* Times.

Ouch!

Before "God Almighty in his infinite wisdom dropped the atomic bomb in our lap. . . ." – *Senator Johnson of Colorado, as quoted in the Washington* Post.

Why We Fought

A Negro quartermaster truck company that had been scheduled to sail for the United States on the *U. S. S. Croatan* . . . was unexpectedly transferred to another transport today following objections by Navy officers. The Navy's position, as explained by Army officers who protested but bowed to the decision of the rival service, was that there were no segregation facilities on the flight deck of the baby flattop. – *William J. Humphreys in the New York* Herald Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

War Aims

SIR: For a man with Lieutenant Colonel John H. Sherman's clear thinking and sympathetic insight into the Negro problem (the *New Republic*, November 19, 1945), I am amazed that he had no answer to the question asked him by a Negro soldier, "How come white folks is fightin' Hitler for treatin' the Jews jes' lak they treats us?"

The answer is very simple, Colonel: We white folks never fought Hitler for treating the Jews as he did. If we had—eight years before Pearl Harbor—there never would have been a World War II; if we had, there never would have been an appeasement with its Munich; if we had, there never would have been the hell that followed; if we had, there would have been no necessity for the Negro soldier to ask such a question. For then, truly, we would have shown a conscience toward our brothers no matter what race or creed, and we never would have permitted such abuses in our own country or abroad.

Camp Lejeune, N. C. G. KASLE

Forced Expatriation

SIR: The war has not yet ended for more than a thousand Japanese at the Tule Lake Segregation Center who are fighting to restore their American citizenship. On November 14, in the Federal District Court in San Francisco, they filed mass petitions to be released from detention and have their renunciation of citizenship canceled. They also asked the court to declare them American citizens and grant an injunction to restrain the Department of Justice from deporting them to Japan as expatriates. They maintain that they were victims of duress when they signed for expatriation.

Our Government has mistreated this group during the war by racial evacuation, registration, segregation and concentration-camp practices (see Carey McWilliams' *Prejudice*). Even with the war over, our government is not yet big enough to admit its mistakes and free these people; the Department of Justice is at present taking steps to deport them as a "solution." If our government succeeds in deporting these expatriates, America will be committing moral and legal *hara kiri* as far as her peace aims of justice and fair play are concerned.

These people have committed no crime; they signed for expatriation principally in protest at evacuation and because of parental pressure. And their parents signed for repatriation mainly because they were evacuated for no just reason and consequently felt they would fare better in Japan. Any number of reports from the files of the Community Analysis Section of the War Relocation Authority would document these statements.

What do these expatriates mean when they say they were victims of duress? It means to feel the sting of being evacuated from home because Japanese blood flows in one's veins. It means being dumped into concentration camps with barbed wire and armed guards. It means living in primitive barracks, with rooms 20 by 25 feet housing five people. It means eating in mess halls, using public lavatories and showers, working a 44-hour week for $16 a month. It means being dictated to by rules from Washington, euphemistically called "administrative instructions." It means becoming racially hypersensitive, individually frustrated, impotent, vexed. They felt a need to protest, which culminated in their signing for expatriation.

Now that the war is over, they have recovered their perspective and desire to remain in America in spite of all they have endured. They are fighting a legal battle for justice. If they lose, we lose.

Chicago, Ill. CONRAD HEMANAKA

For Our December 10 Issue

SIR: I think the December 10 issue of the *New Republic* is the finest magazine number I have seen in this country within my memory—of all magazines. It is restrained, truthful; I wish Herbert Croly could have read it.

Greenwich House, New York City MARY K. SIMKHOVITCH

German Penitence

SIR: I am sure that Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, in his article, "Death of a German Generation," in the *New Republic* of November 26, is correct in his general evaluation of the lack of penitence among the German people. However, I should like to present some data in contradiction to his feelings that there is "not the slightest shred of evidence" of a sense of responsibility among them. It is probably true that the majority, even among the churches, have failed in this respect; but let some quotations from a few German leaders speak for themselves.

From an Associated Press dispatch in the New York *Times*, Leipzig, Germany, May 27: The Reverend Guenther Walther in a prayer on the occasion of the release of Martin Niemoeller from concentration camp, said, "Forgive us our colossal blood guilt which became manifest in the last period of the war. Permit us to worship Thee and cast us not from Thy countenance. Do Thou take in hand the future of our people and do Thou make right what humans did so wrong."

From a German pastor, the Reverend Herman Asmussen, according to Religious News Service published in the *Churchman* in October, 1945: "The German citizen is guilty, for he sought his own peace above all . . . because he sacrificed the right in his desire for ease, because for long during the war he kept silent before horrors, provided they had a happy sequence, because he deliberately made a God of his welfare, because he allowed the authorities to exercise influence on his soul belonging to God alone, because he suppressed what he knew to be true. Yes, we are all guilty, whether important or insignificant, rich or poor, educated or uneducated."

According to the New York *Times* of July 10, a new political party, the Christian Democratic Party Union, representing both Catholics and Protestants, said in a proclamation that "only the spiritual and moral strength of Christianity" could rescue Germany from "the chaos of guilt and disgrace" into which she has been thrown by the "deification of a criminal adventurer."

Syracuse, N. Y. REV. G. SHUBERT FRYE

The Equal-Rights Amendment

SIR: We should like to outline briefly the present status of the Equal-Rights Amendment. It was endorsed in the national platforms of both major parties, and the Judiciary Committee, which reported it favorably in the Seventy-eighth Congress, is repeating the routine of sending the resolution first to a subcommittee.

May I venture to suggest, however, that the Senate in very truth already has adopted the amendment? When it ratified the Charter of the United Nations, it affirmed its faith

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in "the equal rights of men and women," a phrase and a principle written into the preamble and into five chapters of the Charter.

Reduced to simple terms, the proposed amendment is nothing more or less than an addition to the American Bill of Rights. It says "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged because of sex." This principle has been set in the Charter, as a standard for every civilized country. We are dealing with a historic process. Aristotle always coupled the words "women and slaves." Mazzini declared "long prejudice . . . and a perennial legal inequality . . ." had oppressed women. Susan B. Anthony campaigned for more than votes: she asked for "equality of rights, civil and political," the right to the franchise being but one.

It was said in your "Washington Notes" last spring that certain national organizations are opposed to the amendment, for instance the AFL. But the AFL has enthusiastically backed the Charter, which proposes "fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to sex."

The claim of the opposition that women will lose needed protection under the law is not one held either by congressmen who support the amendment or by legal authorities with whom I have talked. Former Senator Guy Gillette said, "I do not believe there is a lawyer anywhere in the United States who would construe [the amendment] as taking away, except in unusual instances, the protective legislative acts which have been placed on the statute books." Similar, even stronger, statements have been made by authorities on the Constitution and on labor legislation, like Dr. Edwin Borchard and Dr. E. Wight Bakke of Yale, by the former Attorney General of the United States, Homer Cummings, by lawyers like David Stock and Sanford Stoddard, etc.

Yes, Mr. Editor, it is true that many notable people oppose the amendment. May it not be because they are absorbed in their work in other fields? The president of Harvard, Charles W. Eliot, and the great statesman, Elihu Root, opposed giving the vote to women. Mr. Root said he could protect his own wife and daughters, and preferred to. So doth sentiment obscure reason, at times, even among the wisest, be they individuals or national organizations.

FLORENCE L. C. KITCHELT, Chairman,
Connecticut Committee for the Equal Rights Amendment
New Haven, Conn.

[Mrs. Kitchelt's letter was shown in advance of publication to an opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment, Miss Anna Lord Strauss, president, the National League of Women Voters, who makes the following comment.—THE EDITORS]

SIR: Once upon a time someone bought the Brooklyn Bridge from a silver-tongued salesman. Today, the women of the United States are being offered such a gold brick in the form of a so-called "equal-rights" amendment, advocated by a small group of women who seemingly are naïve enough to believe that to write the words "equal rights" into the Constitution will automatically remove discriminations against women.

Laws governing the legal status of women are still the concern of the individual states. Even though the words "equal rights of men and women" do appear in the United Nations Charter, the actual removal of any discrimination would still be a problem for each individual country to solve.

A stork once dined with a fox. The fox served dinner in a flat dish. The stork had perfect equality with the fox to eat out of the same dish but he got very little to eat.

Twenty-eight national organizations (named below) believe that legal discriminations against women should be removed. They have, however, consistently opposed the so-called "equal-rights" amendment because there is no assurance that it would in any way improve the status of women; there is real danger that it would jeopardize the gains women have already won by patient effort. Neither would such an amendment change a single law now on the statute books.

Women are biologically different from men, and because they must be the mothers of future generations they need special safeguards in the law. The advocated amendment to the Constitution would jeopardize many of these laws. Certainly chaos and confusion would reign in the whole field of state legislation affecting the minimum-wage and maximum-hour laws, the laws paying alimony to wives with children to support, mothers'-pension laws, widows' pensions under the Social Security Act, and many others. The proposed amendment is doubly dangerous because it masquerades as a progressive measure.

Many of the discriminations which affect women are based on prejudice which the proposed amendment would in no way eliminate. The organizations opposing this amendment are aware that discrimination against women does exist. It is the members of those organizations who are working continuously to improve the legal status of women through state laws.

Senator Connally of Texas, a graduate of the University of Texas Law School and practising attorney before he began his long and distinguished career in Congress, said in voting against the bill in committee, that its passage would "disrupt the laws of each of the 48 states and would fail to give women any compensating advantage. In fact it would destroy much legislation now in existence in behalf of women."

The opposition of Dean Acheson, well known attorney and now Undersecretary of State, Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School, Walton Hamilton of the Yale Law School and Silas Strawn, former president of the American Bar Association, is a matter of record in the hearings of the Senate's Judiciary Committee.

For the Senate to have ratified the Charter of the United Nations, with its principle of "equal rights," is an entirely different matter than would be the placing of the so-called "equal-rights" amendment in our own Constitution. The principles declared in the Charter do not abrogate the laws of the signatory nations, but are rather goals toward which the nations may aspire through their own legislative procedures. Practically every member of the present Senate has told us he believes in "equal rights," but like the members of the organizations listed below, the majority of them have said they prefer to leave the matter of "equalizing" to the states, where it belongs.

Organizations which oppose the amendment are: Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, American Federation of Labor, American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Congress of Women's Auxiliaries of the CIO, Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers' Union of America, Girls' Friendly Society of the United States, International Coördinating Committee UAW Auxiliary, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, International Union United Automobile, Aircraft, Agricultural Implement Workers of America, CIO, League of Women Shoppers, Inc., National Consumers' League, National Council of Catholic Women, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Negro Women, National Farmers' Union, National Federation of Settlements, Inc., National League of Women Voters, National Maritime Union, Women's Auxiliary, National Women's Trade Union League of America, Service Star Legion, Inc., the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America, Union for Democratic Action, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO, Women's National Homeopathic Medical Fraternity.

ANNA LORD STRAUSS, President,
Washington, D. C. National League of Women Voters

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Books in Review

Aragon's War Writings

1939-1940. Surely there was never a more anguished time in the history of modern man. I suppose in the secret recesses of his heart and mind, every intelligent person knew that France was bound to be overwhelmed and that nothing so conceivable as a miracle could save England. And surely there was never a more heartbreaking irony than this, that that time was called a period of phony war. In those days a man could see the enormous proposition in spiritual logic being relentlessly worked out. There was no escape. The silence was more impressive of approaching death than all the roar of physical battle was to be. Against that silence, what was to be whispered? Reason? The dialectic? The ivory tower, red or white? Surrealism or propaganda? At a time when once cherished ideas had become equivocal or seemed to have no survival value, to what should one be loyal? To discover a possible and saving loyalty one must find out what it is in us that enables us to be loyal, what it is that lives in us when we keep faith with the necessity of action. That was the terrible problem of 1939-1940.

The solution that many of us found was, perforce, emotional. To urge neutrality, out of loyalty to an old revolutionary conception, seemed to be a betrayal of peoples. To urge aid to the Western Allies in the name of democracy seemed to involve throwing aside all reasonable forecast of the probable results of the war. That, I say, was how it seemed then. Both courses appeared to destroy the very core of one's loyalty to oneself. In that condition the smallest stimulus to old memories could awaken an overwhelming response. In a park one passed a group of Puerto Rican Negroes playing cricket. The click of ball against bat would stop one dead in one's paces and flood the heart with despair for England. An overheard snatch of French recalled not merely the Pont Neuf or the gurgle of fermenting wine in one's cellar in the Rousillon, but the impending downfall of the Republic. In one degree or another, it was so, I dare imagine, with Louis Aragon.[1] His war poetry so testifies, and it makes clear the mechanism of his salvation. In the beautiful and moving poem "The Unoccupied Zone" in *Le Crève-Cœur* he wrote:

> Hour after hour, without relief
> I sought an ill-remembered grief
> Until the September dawn
>
> When lying in your arms awake
> I heard one singing at daybreak
> Outside, an old French song
> Then knew my sorrow, branch and root
> Its music like a naked foot
> Troubled the pool where silence lay nightlong.

A woman and a country. The woman first and then the country. Not "love," but a living, individual woman; and the real country of hard, shrewd peasants, of frantic cyclists, of tricksters of the pen—state it in whatever despairing, irrelevant or bizarre terms. It was neither the idealized France of nationalist historians nor the future France of his own political faith that brought Aragon a passionate and releasing statement of grief. The therapy lay in an old song that stripped off all the disguises of sorrow and guilt and brought simplicity. And that restoration brought poetry which awakened hope, and so enabled action. If that is not near to the truth, then the beauty of these poems deceives. The pedagogues of radical disillusion have sneered at them, and at Aragon. There is more health in these poems than in all the Buddhistic wisdom of the "Knights in Rusty Armor."

It was first a woman:

> I am not theirs because my human flesh
> Is not a pastry to be cut with the knife
> Because a river seeks and finds the sea
> Because my living needs a sister life.

And in the poem "More Beautiful Than Tears":

> Landscape or woman, sleepcharmer, strong as wine,
> Truly I know not which I paint, which love.

One may compare Aragon's wartime life with the intellectual activity of William Blake. The English poet, living in an age destructive of man's wholeness, of that poetry of love and anger he wrote as *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience*, was forced to create a new Myth for himself. The Myth at last strangled the poetry it was intended to nourish. It will not be the fate of Aragon, I believe, for as his six volumes of war poetry report him, he is a whole man. *Le Crève-Cœur* and *Les Yeux d'Elsa* are the Frenchman's statement of his innocence and experience. Unlike Blake, he was not compelled to create a myth. What he needed of ideal construction was doubtless to be found in his communism, though almost no trace of it appears in his war poetry. For the rest, Myth was unnecessary, for a huge and legendary task lay to the hands of Frenchmen. And since Aragon has been attacked as "a telephone-booth man, who will always be found in evening dress when the brawl starts," as one ex-radical put it to me, let it be said at once that the *flâneurs* of struggle do not twice win the Croix de Guerre and the Médaille Militaire in one year of battle, as Aragon did. And they do not go on to disciplined work in the underground.

The task that confronted the French performed the function of Blake's myth, and with far greater success. And there was a subtle factor in the paradox of brotherhood in loneliness. The poet, as Malcolm Cowley says, even less than the novelist, does not write well in the service of a party, even if he regards it with devotion, as Aragon does. The reason is easy to misstate. The party of one's mind is of necessity a very different thing from the party of daily

[1] Aragon: Poet of the French Resistance, edited by Hannah Josephson and Malcolm Cowley. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 167 pages. $2.

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life. Whether one is a sober or a romantic person, the inner party is an ideal, in which the triumphant future and a present purity provide the intellectual climate. The party of daily life is usually far from this radiance. As one sees from Aragon's unhappy and, to speak candidly, discreditable attack on André Gide, to keep these two parties in contact is not easy and is sometimes impossible. The French Communist who could have sung a pure song about his party's line in 1939-40 cannot even be imagined. Later the real party behaved like the ideal. I do not mean to imply that in writing his first two volumes of verse Aragon was abandoning the claims of his political faith, as some have said. On the contrary, the resource of spirit they show certainly contributed to a strengthening of faith. The close brotherhood of personal love grew into a wide and vigorous brotherhood with men of very different faiths, as Mr. Rhodes's exciting account of Aragon's role in the French underground, included in this book, clearly shows.

The war poetry of Aragon is not uniformly good, and toward the end it lost some of its purity and force. At its best it is at once strong and limpid. Its strength lies in its essential simplicity. Aragon does not refract his emotions. They are stark, and they are those which the clean heart must feel in moments of disaster. I do not mean to say that as verse or as a body of allusion his work is simple. Technically, the verse structure is exact and individual, and is designed to provide, as it were, a gravely lyrical "music" that shall never obscure the "words." The effect, of course, is partly that of the French language and cannot easily be transposed into English. In one sense the Frenchman may be compared to Auden. Upon the side of reference, Eliot comes to mind, for Aragon is a deliberate borrower. His verse forms, too, bring all periods from that of the *Pléiade* down to Apollinaire under tribute. It is a tribute which is always refashioned to fit the wearer or to provide a greater resistance against which to write. Here again he has been attacked. Apparently there is something evasive in pouring one's deepest feeling into exact verses. The result for the reader is that the French beauty is heard in a most varied and subtle orchestration that is lucid and nearly always precise: the heavy balanced stresses of

Chevaliers perdus de la reine maudite;

the firmly graven stability of the last verse of "Ombres":

Ils doutent de l'amour pour avoir vu la mort.

Against this must be set Aragon's characteristic failing, which is that of allowing the force of his emotion to expend itself in too free a series of associations. There is also an occasional occurrence of cant words and emotional clichés, such as will produce the abominable line, "And the children will come to kiss your martyred hands."

The editor of the poetry section of this book has made an excellent choice, though I think he should have included "Ombres" and excluded "Elsa, I Love You." He has drawn principally upon the first two books, and *La Diane Française* and *Le Musée Grévin*, which again and again reminds one of Dryden.

The translators have taken the proper liberties. Aragon himself has perhaps indicated that they might have taken a greater liberty than they have done. In the poem "Imitated from Camoës" (not included here),

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John Day

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Que me quereis perpetuas saudades

has been transmuted into

Que cherchez-vous de moi perpetuels orages.

No doubt the translators have argued that Aragon is here transposing the meaning to a higher key, to match the violence of the times. My remark, I add, is not meant as adverse criticism, for in exactness of meaning and in tone of voice they have done astonishingly well. I imagine that Aragon himself would be glad to see the difficult line in the beautiful "Richard II Forty,"

C'est le regne de l'oiseleur

rendered by Mr. Cowley and Mr. Humphries as

The days have come when fowlers reign.

But I must make one strong complaint. Surely it is understood by now that volumes of translations of poetry should always include the text of the original. The personalities of the translators have shown up in the text to some extent. In his preface, Mr. Cowley has translated

Et son refrain comme un pied nu
Troubla l'eau verte du silence

into lines that have the French gravity:

Its music like a naked foot
Troubled the pool where silence lay nightlong.

Louis MacNeice restores the word green and adds a Georgian quality when he translates

That phrase of song like a naked foot
Rippled the green water of stillness.

The difference may be felt to be unimportant and yet it does refer to something which has been remarked before (and by Mr. Cowley). In general the English genius is soft, even imprecise, where French is graven; its illumination is suffused where the French is crystalline. It is the same with the French conception of what is poetic. "Le peintre français ne poétise jamais," as my friend André Masson says. Here and there I have felt a translator has allowed the habits of the English language to master him too readily.

In his war poetry Aragon found himself, for reasons that have to do with his sense of brotherhood with his countrymen. Countless Frenchmen were similarly awakened. How long will it endure? France must be remade, yes. And the sheer necessity of France is socialism. If reform will not bring socialism, then revolution must, whether led by Aragon's party or another. By all the signs, I believe there is a new tide in France that threatens to be turned back by the dreary breakwaters of prejudice concerning technique. One sees signs of this new life in such a sincere and powerful figure of the Right as Mauriac. Writing in *Le Figaro*, Mauriac recently said, "I passionately hope, as a Catholic and a Frenchman, that [a certain classical problem of France] does not remain as the eternal stumbling block against which the best efforts of honest socialists and Christians will break itself. Only a great socialist party, a great 'labor' party, open to Catholics of good will, can consecrate the unity of France." I am not thinking of impossible reconciliations between different faiths when I hope that Aragon and his friends will distinguish what is the real meaning for them of Mauriac's words. That he will is implied by his *La Diane Française*, published since the liberation.

RALPH BATES

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Psychoanalysis as Literature

This Hunger, by Anais Nin, with five woodblocks by Ian Hugo. New York: Gemor Press. 184 pages. $3.

THE VIRTUE of Miss Nin's writing, in a time of "human winter," is that by its exclusive preoccupation with the intimate problems of feminine psychology, it is concerned with an aspect of human values as such. Her style, moreover, in its use of fairly broad emotive language and in the expression it gives to feeling and sentiment, possesses a certain *Innerlichkeit*, an air of immediate reality, for lack of which so much of modern American writing is dying such a hideous, choking death. But Miss Nin approaches the human by way of psychoanalysis, which, as I shall try to show, leaves a great deal to be desired for literature.

Anais Nin treats of whole life histories, even though her stories are restricted in time and in scope to the present mood and atmosphere of her characters. Implicit in the narrative condensation is the psychological, if not specifically psychoanalytical, premise that personality undergoes a continuous development, with childhood experience its most important factor. Her fictional interest is not so much in the character as in the neurotic predicament of her heroines; her writing is therefore more illustrative than creative—illustrative of the wars and wounds of life history, and the dangers, particularly sexual in nature, that loom before women when their development is thwarted.

There are three stories in *This Hunger:* "Hejda," "Stella" and "Lillian and Djuna." Hedja is an Arabian girl, Stella, a Polish actress who becomes a Hollywood star, and Lillian and Djuna are mature American women—and yet the four women and the three stories in which they occur are all fundamentally the same. One basic pattern emerges from them: the woman, hampered in the expression of her sexuality by her fear of the male—which fear is the anxiety that he will not allow her to achieve her proper expression, or that he will fail to fulfill his own role—a fear, that is to say, of his strength and his weakness—turns aggressive and tries to wrest his dominance from him. It is out

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of this struggle that her hunger arises—the need for fulfilment through her own nature, which she has made herself incapable of attaining.

Miss Nin almost completely neglects the dramatization of this conflict, so eager is she to state it in terms of immediate feelings, or so certain, apparently, that the mere statement implies dramatic realization. The task she assigns to literature seems to be no more than to present and amplify the insights of psychoanalysis, lay them around the core of woman's self-knowledge and fill in with details of character and feeling the blank spaces of abstract psychological understanding. It is her preoccupation with such details, disproportionate to the amount of real importance that she assigns to the accidents of human existence, that retains for her attitude its title to literature—submersion in the flux of feeling, even if the writer drowns, does give her a kind of posthumous status in reality, which, at a time when most writers are dead anyway, is almost as good as being alive.

But one must insist that fiction live. The reason that Anais Nin's fiction dies in the writing is not only that she fails to transmit her literary feeling directly and dramatically, but—a curious thing—that she is a thoroughgoing mechanist, for all the apparent intuitiveness of the subject matter with which she deals. The esthetic protest against the aggressions of intellectualism, and the counter-claims of poetic impulsiveness against the detached, scientific observation of life, sometimes develop a positivism all their own, in the practice of which the writer resembles nothing more than the thing he means to avoid. No fact of naturalism was ever so much a fact, a concrete abstraction or a pointer-reading, as the facts of the soul with which Anais Nin puts together her stories. Woman's being crushed by her effort to cope with man is made to appear a kind of natural doom, ordained with all the authority of natural law. But this doom is derived not from a universal truth, but from a particular selection of events. Woman is shown only in the succession of shock and recoil that certainly fills, but just as certainly does not exhaust, her life. Wound and resentment, hurt and retreat—these are the only modes of interaction with men and with life that Anais Nin allows her women. Which, while it suffices to show the destructiveness of woman, does not let Miss Nin attain the further objective that she has set for herself—to depict woman's struggle to understand her own nature. The struggle for understanding is conducted completely without benefit of mind. Consciousness, in this new mechanics of feeling, is an epiphenomenon all over again.

The objection I am making is not to the portrayal of women as inevitably conducted by their anxiety into a helplessness against which it is useless for them to struggle, but to the unconscious systematization of human subject matter that underlies this portrayal, and to the belief, apparently held by Miss Nin, that such systematization does not distort the reality which is revealed in immediate feeling. Miss Nin's procedure involves the reductive fallacy, rare in literature, which is most commonly found in metaphysics. She begins with the end product of psychoanalysis, the selective breaking up of personality into its component drives, and then reads the resultant back into her subject as if it constituted the whole motive force of human nature. This rests on a confusion of depth psychology with character psychology, in which the latter is taken to be reducible,

Will They SURVIVE? The Answer Depends on YOU!

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT
from a letter in the IRRC files

Nov. 15, 1945

Dear ———

Today I saw 680 people of whom 80 were children from six months to ten years old—in what is supposed to be a Displaced Persons Camp. They were crowded into the only two rooms that had windows in a large, bombed-out building. Shivering and cold, old and young, men, women, boys, girls and babies were huddling together on the floor and double-decker beds for warmth, like animals in dens. I saw children bearing scars and wounds of the Nazi experiments, on their wrists, ankles and in the back of their knees. A child of eight is about the three-year-old size at home. . . .

35° was the average indoor temperature in Paris last winter. AND IT ISN'T WARMER NOW. Anti-fascist veterans are literally freezing to death. Remember them? They're the ones who answered NO when Hitler said YOU MUST and Mr. Chamberlain whispered YES. Many are dead. Hundreds of thousands are still alive. They gave everything. They have nothing now.

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without residuum, to the former. That such is not the case is evident from the four heroines of *This Hunger*, all of whom, while intimately projected from within outwards, emerge, without personality, as mere personifications of neurotic anxiety. The gap between personification and personality is literature, which no amount of psychoanalysis, or sensitive writing, or combinations of the two, can fill.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Mr. Nathan and the Theatre

The Theatre Year Book of the Year 1944-1945, by George Jean Nathan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 342 pages. $3.

It is hardly a fault of Mr. George Jean Nathan's that he is more entertaining most of the time than the theatre he is talking about. He maintains an impetus and luster of engagement with the stage matter that time cannot stale; and certainly age, settling down over us all and over the world, can do nothing about its infinite variety. The truth is that Mr. Nathan is both a theatrical storehouse, full of the most voluminous and astonishing information, recording and revival values, and a whole theatre in himself. Reading his new book, that newest necessity in stage chronicles, you know how stupid our theatre has become, what banalities, brave spirits and silly geese are in it, what frauds, saviors and mediocrities; and at the same time know how flat we all are, and at the same time, too, know how jolly and silly and needed and happy and gabby and footlighted the theatre is and will always be.

I will now pay our critic a compliment: reading these pieces about the theatre is like seeing the curtain going up. You want to see what is there, no matter. I will say for the season of 1944-1945, with which this book deals, that seeing the curtain go up was usually the best part of it. That is not Mr. Nathan's fault, and he has a way of keeping you on your tiptoes till you see, only too clearly, that the play is a mess. To call him a pessimist would indeed be absurd. No one but an optimist would see and record every offering in our theatre from May 18, 1944, to May 2, 1945. And this is all done patiently and with something of the same excitement about it that the theatre itself feels about itself. That may sound like an obvious remark, but it concerns a quality astonishingly rare among dramatic reviewers and even critics.

That brings us to a consideration, however brief, of this season that Mr. Nathan's book covers. Except as record, much of it is not worth writing about at all. Pieces like "On the Town" leave with me no impression that would make my opinion worth a rap, and a great deal of "Bloomer Girl" I am more than inept about, and the Theatre Guild's "Carousel," as a version of "Liliom," seemed to me for the most part oh how flat. "The Glass Menagerie," with Miss Laurette Taylor added to it, was for me the bright particular spot in the season. And now, falling outside the time covered by Mr. Nathan's book, there is "State of the Union," which seems to me the real thing and quite another matter from most of our rubbish.

Meanwhile, by all the signs, there are matters in the offing. Miss Margaret Webster, Miss Eva Le Gallienne and Miss Cheryl Crawford, none of them without more than high honors as successful workers in the theatre, have published a prospectus about a repertory theatre. And there is the opening very soon of the Theatre Incorporated, with Miss Beatrice Straight as president. Their list of planned productions, has not, so far as I have seen, been published, but I know of it, and it shines with exciting titles. And meanwhile a most considerable number of well known actors, conscious of their own desires and of their ambitions thwarted in silly enterprises and golden-calf successes, have

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wished to join their names to this group. Nothing proves so much as does Mr. Nathan's book that there is no death to the theatre; and nothing promises more than do these new, fresh movements that there is forever life to it.

STARK YOUNG

Early American Sculpture

Yankee Stonecutters, the First American School of Sculpture, 1800-1850, by Albert Teneyck Gardner. New York: Published for the Metropolitan Museum of Art by the Columbia University Press. 84 pages. $4.

THIS is a delightful volume of Americana—an account of the marble-cutting school which included Thomas Crawford (sculptor of *Armed Freedom* atop the Capitol dome in Washington), Hiram Powers of the notorious *Greek Slave,* William Wetmore Story, whose *Cleopatra* is described by Hawthorne in *The Marble Faun* and whose biography was so tactfully written by Henry James, Horatio Greenough, the friend of Cooper, and many others. In isolation stands the "lonely mysterious figure" of William Rimmer, whom Mr. Gardner sees as a truly creative artist, "a sculptor surrounded by mechanics." There are many lively glimpses of the "mechanics" turning out their "ideal figures" and portrait busts at home and abroad: the chapter entitled "Graffiti d'Italia, or Sketches of Florentine and Roman Art Life," is especially entertaining, with its quotations from Hawthorne and its vignette of the "white marformat is handsome and large, with double columns in good stonecutters at large in Italy. Mr. Gardner suggests some interesting social and political reasons as to why so large and pretentious a school of sculpture should have arisen when our country was so young and innocent. Following the refreshingly irreverent text are a biographical dictionary of American sculptors and a few pages of eloquent plates. The format is handsome and large, with double columns in good type.

FRANCIS STEEGMULLER

In Forthcoming Issues:

Malcolm Cowley will review the new edition of Henry James's *The Bostonians* and the critical symposium, *The Question of Henry James,* edited by F. W. Dupee. George Mayberry will review recent novels by Christopher Isherwood and Evelyn Waugh. Leslie Farber, M.D., will analyze the theory and practice of hypnoanalysis. D. W. Maurer will discuss "The Impact of Military Slang on the Language."

CONTRIBUTORS

RALPH BATES is a British novelist and writer on politics and music. Among his books are *Lean Men* and *The Olive Field.*

ISAAC ROSENFELD's first novel, *Passage from Home,* will be published by the Dial Press in February.

FRANCIS STEEGMULLER, author of *Flaubert and Madame Bovary* and of a forthcoming novel, *States of Grace* (to be published by Reynal and Hitchcock), is writing a biographical study of the American art critic-collector, James Jackson Jarves.

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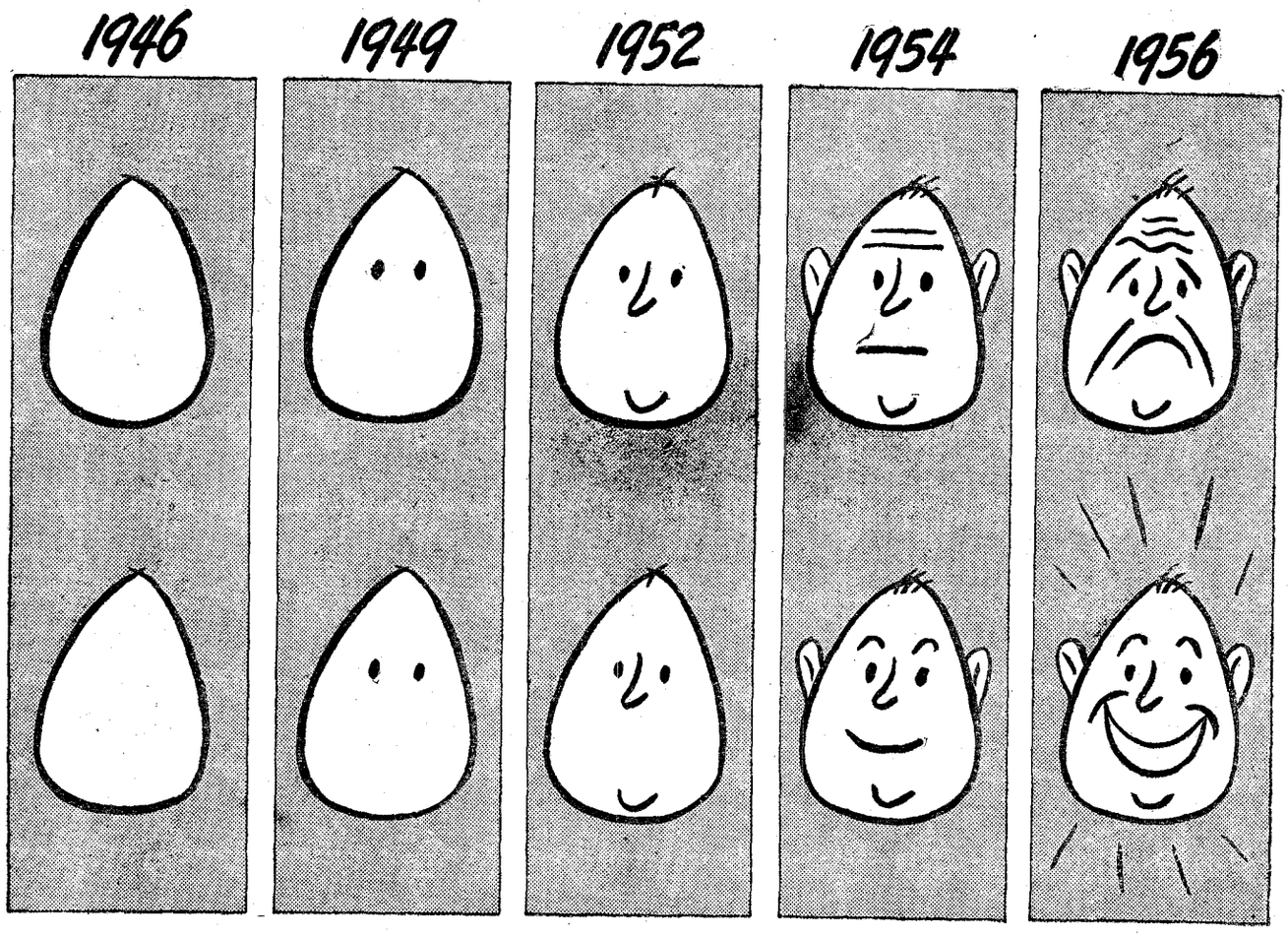

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